C. Schwarz sc.

BERNADOTTE

Crown Prince of Sweden.

MEMOIRS AND CAMPAIGNS

OF

CHARLES JOHN,

PRINCE ROYAL OF SWEDEN.

BY JOHN PHILIPPART, ESQ.

EMBELLISHED WITH A BEAUTIFULLY ENGRAVED PORTRAIT.

"His is the fortitude which unites with the courage of the field the more exalted and refined courage of the council, which knows how to retreat and how to advance—which can conquer as well by delay as by the rapidity of a march, or the impetuosity of an attack—which can be like Fabius, the black cloud on the tops of the mountains; or with Scipio, the thunderbolt of war! which, undisturbed by false humanity, can calmly assume that most awful moral responsibility of deciding, when victory may be so dearly purchased by the loss of a single life, and when the safety and glory of his country may demand the certain sacrifice of thousands."...*Burke.*

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TO

MAJOR-GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT,

THIS FIRST AMERICAN EDITION

OF THE

MEMOIRS AND CAMPAIGNS

Of one of the most distinguished soldiers of Europe,

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

By his humble servants

THE PUBLISHERS.

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DEDICATION,

(BY PERMISSION)

TO

MADAME

LA BARONNE DE STAËL HOLSTEIN.

MADAM,

THE language of panegyric must not be addressed to you, because its powers and its expressions would be alike unable to do you justice; but there is a homage of the feelings, and sentiments that may be offered without offence to your delicacy or your station, and which, Madam, I have the honour to present. Such homage it will be my constant ambition to avow, and to the close of my existence I shall remember, with pride and pleasure, the countenance and the patronage of a "woman, illustrious by the gifts of genius."

The transcendancy of your genius, your literary fame and deep erudition, had rendered your name celebrated in England long before your arrival. You have been honoured, Madam, in every country to which your steps have been directed, and in

none more than in that which can boast of giving you birth; for there you were proscribed by one who felt your superiority, and by his conduct, tacitly acknowledged it in the face of the world. In Sweden public honours were justly decreed you, and I trust that on the soil of Britain, and amongst her liberal and enlightened sons, you will have no cause to regret being an alien to that beautiful country which was once yours.

The friend of genius and of man, the laurel under whose shade you reposed, the prince, the soldier and the statesman, I have in the following sheets, endeavoured faithfully to delineate, and my work having received the approbation of the Corinna of France, I feel every confidence in its success.

I am not, however, Madam, insensible to the many difficulties and even boldness of my task. I am fully aware of the contrarieties of opinion entertained in this country upon many of the events that are discussed in my work, but my labours having received both your approval and patronage, I am regardless of any opposition that may be offered to the sentiments and declarations they contain.

I cannot resist thus publicly offering to you the acknowledgments I most warmly entertain for those lights you so readily threw upon the life and character of the Prince Royal; and from whom could I receive such information as from her who has seen him alike the heir of an ancient and august throne, and divested of the appendages of

royalty, as an amiable and enlightened companion:—but although I feel certain that any declaration of my devotion and my respect for you, Madam, would convey but a faint idea of my sentiments, I must beg permission to express my earnest desire that you may still continue to receive those peaceful and unalloyed pleasures in the bosom of your amiable family, to which your heart is so warmly susceptible, and in the world, that enthusiastic admiration your virtues and your talents demand.

I have the honour to be,
Madam,
Your very obliged,
and most faithful Servant,
J. PHILIPPART.

London, 6 *April*, 1814.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THERE is not among all the memorable transactions, military and political, by which the European world has been involved and agitated for the last twenty years, any that have excited more strong and universal interest than those of the present and the preceding continental campaings. For a long period the views of one ambitious individual no sooner elicited themselves than success, in its most full and brilliant aspect crowned his enterprizes, however bold in their conception, unprincipled in their design, or unexpected in their execution.

An amazing career of victory placed Napoleon Buonaparte above the reach of calamity, and far removed from casual disappointment, until the campaign of 1812-13 suddenly dispelled the magic shade his policy and subtlety had thrown over the observation of mankind, and shewed, that in the hands of an offended and avenging Omnipotent, the power of Napoleon, his armies, and his "successful destinies," were but as the dews of the morning, which glitter for a while, and then vanish beneath the sun-beams.

In the reverse of fortune that has at length overtaken this distinguished desolator, it is impossible not to be susceptible of a feeling of indescribable gratitude, awe, and admiration of the Supreme Power which has arrested his sanguinary progress, and retarded the execution of those vast designs that were intended to carry blood and desolation into another hemisphere: and from this feeling the thoughts naturally revert to the condition in which the most powerful States of the world would have been placed, had not the avenging arm been stretched out to punish his presumption and deliver his fellow-men.

In the ever varying circle of human existence it is observable, that the degradation of a State, or of an individual, is but a prologue to the elevation of another, and thus has it appeared with Napoleon Buonaparte and his great contemporary Charles John. However difficult it may be for a man in obscure life to raise himself to power and greatness, yet having once acquired those possessions, he instantly finds the task of retaining them to be by far the most arduous: then is the hero, or the man of a common mind, discovered, and the world not imposed upon by false greatness and the exteriour appearance of superiour intellect.

The passion most universal and most remarkable in the human mind, is ambition. However different in their pursuits, their occupations, or their desires, still ambition, to a degree, more or less, is discernable in every man. And whether

it is directed to the subjugation of kingdoms, or the culture of a flower, it is still the same passion, under a different semblance. In the breast of a man of virtue it is a most noble and amiable feeling, urging him to actions which reflect lustre on his character; and although it does not at all times bring with it unqualified success, and unalloyed gratifications, it is nevertheless always exalted, generous, and magnanimous. With the common herd of men it is a petty and contemptible passion, and in the breast of a misanthropist it is a scourge.

The Prince Royal of Sweden is not unambitious; but with him ambition is a principle, not an instrument: it has been to him a watch-fire, which has led him by an easy gradation from a firelock to a sceptre,—from a camp to a court: and through his strange and romantic course, there are but few, if any, recollections, that are calculated to cast a gloom over his brow, or give a pang to his heart.

In the unexampled successes, and the sudden and extraordinary reverses that have attended the Ruler of the French nation, the world beholds a lesson for the most ambitious. It is almost a moral impossibility for any other character to attain that superiority of power which was acquired by Buonaparte; his insatiate ambition, his great military talents, his despotic power, his open and secret treachery, his intrigues and perfidy, have been, however, always sufficient grounds for distrust, jealousy and alarm. His proceedings have constantly excited universal apprehensions, and

each Continental State has secretly desired the organization of an adequate counterpoise against a power, which at last rashly committed itself, in endeavouring to acquire the command of the whole Continent; and ineffectually availed itself of every unjust means to obtain that end.

An intelligent political writer* has very sensibly observed, it is deeply to be lamented, that those who are so ready to expose the faults of Buonaparte, and dwell upon his crimes, "should not endeavour to imitate him in those qualities in which he excels other men, and by which he has been enabled to rule over so many that are better than himself"† This is an observation that has often occurred to me: it is the best policy to imitate the actions of an enemy when they are likely to produce real benefits to a State, or to successfully oppose his ambitious projects.

It is true, in the early periods of the Prince Royal of Sweden's diplomatic career, he was betrayed into actions intemperate, and indeed contemptuous, towards a foreign power his ministerial functions placed him near:‡ but in extenua-

* Mr. Playfair—*Vide* his "Political Potraits," 1813.

† His perseverance in his undertakings, rewarding those who do real service, and dismissing those who are found unfit to serve the public, highly deserve imitation, and cannot but be admired, even by his greatest enemies. This practice he adopted amongst the Jacobins, and if folly and ambition did not destroy their works, such a mode of proceeding would ensure success.

‡ *Vide* page 57.

tion to a man who it has not been my intention to represent "as a faultless monster, which the world ne'er saw," I must remark, that he was drawn into that exuberance of self-will by the overweening arrogance of the Assembly he then served, and which attempted, with too much success, to substitute its own presumptuous and unprincipled mandates in place of the laws and customs of neighbouring and even neutral States.

But the impositions of the revolution, when they ceased to delude and intimidate the world, were beheld in all the deformity of vice, cruelty and folly; and many of its strenuous supporters, the orators who declaimed in its praise, and the soldiers who spilled their blood for its security, were alike ashamed of the parts they had taken, and eager to demonstrate that feeling by a line of conduct in opposition to their former measures.—Having been once led into errour and extravagance of conduct by the baleful example of flagitious men, and the incongruous system of republican philosophy, it argues in the Prince Royal an ingenuousness of soul, and a free spirit, to retract and amend such errours.

There is a spacious range for observation and inquiry into the political conduct of the Prince Royal of Sweden, since his elevation to that dignity. The frankness with which he at first acknowledged his obligations to Napoleon Buonaparte; his devotedness to that extraordinary character, and his constant sentiments of national attachment, have all been expressed with a sincer-

ity equally strong and natural. How pure, then, must be the patriotism of his soul—how exalted his feelings of gratitude to his adopted father and King, Charles XIII.—and how warm his affection to those Swedes, who, of their own free election, have placed him at the foot of their throne, when all those long-cherished and early ties are voluntarily torn asunder, and the first and finest feelings of his heart sacrificed, to give peace, security and honour to Sweden—repose to all the world.

The cynic and the misanthropist may declaim against the political conduct of the Prince Royal of Sweden; but the upright heart will trace therein the enlightened prince, the just magistrate, the exalted patriot. France is indeed his parent, but he is united to Sweden; and as long as he felt it compatible with the interest of the latter power, the country that had adopted and chosen him for her prince, he evinced his attachment to Buonaparte: but when France became at variance with Sweden, and no hope of a satisfactory and honourable reconciliation remained, the Prince Royal could not a moment hesitate as to the line of conduct duty and patriotism called upon him to pursue, and in uniting his arms with those of the allied powers of the Continent, his Royal Highness declared his ambition was to restore peace to Sweden—to France—to the world.

Each day that passes serves to deepen the interest every well-wisher to the independence of Europe must take in the military operations of

the Prince Royal; and every foreign paper affords some new proof of his great abilities as a soldier and a statesman.

In addition to the public documents the author has collected and compiled with the greatest attention, he has been favoured with such sketches of the private and domestic manners of the Prince Royal, as shew him in the most amiable point of view—whether as a son, a husband, a father, or a friend. Throughout the following pages, will be found introduced various anecdotes of his Royal Highness in support of this declaration, and which the author flatters himself will be read with interest and satisfaction. Those readers, however, who are desirous of prying into all the domestic views of the subject of the author's memoirs, will be perhaps disappointed: he has almost exclusively confined himself to the public career of the Prince Royal, and contented himself with brief sketches of his private character. But the author, however, acquainted with the feminine curiosity of many modern readers, has not thought it necessary, in the memoirs of an illustrious military character, to enter into details that would be disgusting to the real military and political reader. He has not thought it proper to satisfy those frivolous characters, who would wish to know whether the Prince Royal's hours of retirement from public duties were passed in listening to the music of his wife's harp, or her voice; what company he saw; his hour of rising and re-

tiring, &c.; and whether he pursued the sylvan game in the romantic wilds and forests of Sweden.

The author must now call the attention of his readers to a paragraph in the writings of Polybius, as it most fully applies to the observations he has been obliged to offer throughout these memoirs. "If we pay a proper regard to truth," observes Polybius, "we shall find it necessary not only to condemn our friends upon some occasions, and commend our enemies, but also to commend and condemn the same persons, as different circumstances may require; for it is not to be imagined, that those who are engaged in great affairs should always be pursuing false or mistaken measures; so neither is it probable that their conduct can at all times be exempt from errour."

Before concluding this Advertisement, the Author feels it a duty to offer his acknowledgments to those individuals who have been always ready to afford him the information they have possessed on the subjects of his writings. To Madame La Baronne De Stael Holstein, he has already publicly presented his warmest thanks; they are also due to his Excellency the Baron De Rahausen, and to other distinguished characters. The Author has also to express the satisfaction he feels at the very liberal manner with which his various writings have been received by the Public, and

his thanks to those literary friends who have deemed them worthy of their patronage.*

London, April 6. 1814.

N. B. As it will be readily perceived that the principal part of this work has been a considerable time in the press, the Author considers it necessary to observe, that the delay in its publication has arisen from his desire to narrate the military operations of the Prince Royal of Sweden to the close of the grand struggle for the deliverance of Europe from the ambition of Napoleon Buonaparte: and that this sheet, as well as

* It should, however, be here noticed, that one attack, (and one only,) on the Author's works, and that of the most scurrilous and violent description, appeared in that receptacle of abuse, the *Critical Review*, and to which he thought proper to reply through the medium of the *New Review*, but contrary to the advice of his friends, as the malevolence of the attack was too evident to obtain for it any other from the public than the feeling it merited; nevertheless, it may, perhaps, be necessary for the Author to state, that the article alluded to, was written by a person out of pique to him, for having refused the insertion of some statements sent for a military work, over which he, the Author has some controul, and to which statements he decidedly objected, not from any ill-will to the writer of them, but on account of the malevolence of the papers, and the injury the work in question might sustain from their introduction.

the dedication was put to press previous to some of the concluding parts of the volume.

The Author hopes to develop in a few weeks the policy that has directed the Prince Royal during the last month, if such development should become necessary. At present he considers it just to observe in defence of his Royal Highness, that in this country the many are led away by the impressions of the moment, and are always willing to form and promulgate opinions on the suggestions that at first offer themselves, instead of coolly investigating or attending for authentic information, that might direct an unbiassed opinion. By these *politicians*, the conduct of the Prince Royal has been severely reprobated; by them only has he been censured for his stay at Liege, whilst maturer minds, too just and noble to be guided by the flimsy and versatile arguments of "the many," delay their judgment till the policy of his Royal Higness shall be satisfactorily revealed.

The abdication of the throne of France by Napoleon Buonaparte has also occurred since the dedication and this sheet were put to press. That event has restored peace to Europe, and liberty to the world: that event has been secured by the unanimity and perseverance of the allies; and in none have those sentiments more strongly prevailed, than in the mind and conduct of the Prince Royal of Sweden. His skilful and successful movements in the North of Germany; his proclamations and addresses to the French peo-

ple; his candour and firmness, awakened a great part of the French nation to the true state of their affairs, and exposed the ruin and misery which were enveloping them by the mad ambition of their Emperour.

The downfal of Napoleon Buonaparte from the throne of France produces, however, in the mind of the Author of this work, a very different feeling from that entertained, or at least promulgated, by those who now deride, revile, and satirize the soldier, whose victories and whose "conduct" gained him, at one period, the admiration and the eulogism of the historians of this country; but whose insatiable ambition "violated the compact which united him to the French people." Whilst his abdication of that throne, to which he was raised by his talents, must be rejoiced in by all well wishers to the repose of Europe, the independent mind cannot contemplate his retirement without feelings somewhat approaching to respect.

The provisional government of France have observed, that "during a certain period of firm and prudent government, Napoleon Buonaparte afforded to the nation reasons to calculate for the future on acts of wisdom and justice; and when told, "that he is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe," he resigns the thrones of France and Italy, and declares, "that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make to the interest of France." The members of the provision-

al government, truly noble, do not forget the former services of their general; they recollect what is due to him, what is due to themselves: they remind the French people how degrading and *unworthy it were to abuse him;* they provide for his retirement, and present him with an income, which Buonaparte observes is *too much for a soldier like him.*

The present revilers of the fallen tyrant should read the language of Monsieur, the brother of Louis XVIII. who, on a lady lately abusing Buonaparte in his presence, observed—"Hush! do not abuse him, I could find it in my heart to raise a little statue to him in some part of my apartment."

The minds of the great are not to be judged in prosperity; their true characters are only seen in calamity: and he that can buffet the storms of life, and when fallen from the highest summit of splendour to which any human being was ever raised to become the tenant of an Elban villa, and is not overcome by his adversity, possesses a mind which for its firmness, all may contemplate with respect.

"When all the blandishments of life are gone,
The coward sneaks to death, the brave live on."

London, April, 16, 1814.

MEMOIRS, &c.

THE Crown Prince of Sweden is decidedly the most prominent character of any of the illustrious individuals who, at this moment, unite their strength against the waning greatness of Napoleon Buonaparte, whether considered as a statesman, a soldier, or a prince, forming part of the chastising whole which overshadows the military glories of his former associates in arms, he is still the general who leads, and the sage who directs; nor can it be deemed a too glowing metaphor to assert, that the Crown Prince of Sweden is at this moment, the POLAR STAR OF EUROPE.

This celebrated soldier and statesman rose not suddenly, like the bursting of a volcano, carrying in its destructive course, death, misery, and desolation. His advancement was gradual and dignified. He did

not trample on the bleeding victims who stood athwart his path to dominion, nor wade through human gore, to seize a diadem;—he rose like the sun in silent majesty, to vivify, not to destroy.*

The too prevalent and ridiculous practice observed by biographers, of exalting the Idol of the times above the frailties and weaknesses of humanity, is a system of such glaring fallibility and false reasoning, that it ought to be resisted and discouraged by all reflecting men. It may be argued that human nature is prone to judge from those appearances which present themselves to observation, and that an ingenuous mind will eagerly put such construction on the actions of mankind as accord with its innate feelings and sentiments. Nevertheless, such a position, although most honourable to human nature, is most erroneous, and it is from the test of experience alone, that the principles and views of individuals can be balanced, and at that tribunal only, should their merits be tried.

In order to strengthen this argument, I beg to draw the attention of my readers to the public journals, annals, and political writings of the years 1796, 1797, and 1798, when Buonaparte was bursting upon the world like the sudden appearance of a brilliant and unanticipated comet. How was he then appostrophized, as the youthful hero who had risen to make his country great, powerful, secure! How was he

* Bernadotte rose from the ranks to the dignity of Crown Prince of Sweden, and although he was one of the first to sign the instrument nominating Buonaparte Emperor of the French, yet as will be seen in the sequel, few instances have occurred throughout his career, wherein he has not acted with humanity, while many traits of his character and conduct are recorded, that certainly are most highly creditable and honourable both to his heart and understanding.

eulogised as an Archangel Michael, who held the flaming sword in his fateful hand, "not to destroy men's lives, but to save them."

That those inconsiderate adulators have had woeful cause to retract their opinions, no one will now venture to deny.

Having this useful lesson strongly impressed upon my mind, and a determined intention to retrace the career of the Crown Prince of Sweden with a spirit of candour and impartiality, I enter upon my task; and I trust it will be allowed that the officer whose character and exploits I have to delineate, with all the immensity of his undertakings and conceptions, is not exalted by me above the standard of human excellence, or even removed from human fallibility.

The subject of these memoirs was born at Pau,* a town of France, capital of the department of the Lower Pyrenees, on the 26th of January, 1763, two years after the birth of General Moreau.

It is a fact worthy of remark, that the parentage of the present Crown Prince of Sweden and the late General Moreau, was nearly similar. The fathers of each followed the profession of the law, and were men of moderate fortune. The desire of Bernadotte's father, with respect to the line of life he should pursue, was similar to that entertained by the parent of General Moreau; he was anxious his son should imbibe a

* Henry VI. was born at Pau: it was the ancient residence of the kings of Navarre, and before the revolution, the capital of Bearn. It possesses several manufactories of cloth, woollen, &c. and is seated on an eminence, by the river Pau, 97 miles south of Bordeaux.

taste for the profession of which he was himself a most respectable and honourable member, but the active genius and vivacity of Bernadotte could not be confined to the dry studies of the law, and his aversion to tread in that path wherein his father had fondly flattered himself he would be soon distinguished, induced him, at the early age of fifteen, to quit his paternal roof, and to enlist in the regiment of Royal Marines.* With this corps the young Bernadotte served under M. de Bussy, during the American war, in the East Indies; and afterwards with the squadron under Bailly de Suffrein.

Within a year from the period of his enlistment, Bernadotte was promoted to the rank of corporal, and in 1783, on the return of his regiment to France, he attained the rank of serjeant.

From the year 1783 till 1789, little of interest occurred relating to the subject of these memoirs. In the latter year a circumstance took place, which, as it certainly evidences the respectability of the character of Bernadotte at that period, and the influence he possessed over the minds of his companions in arms, must not be passed over.

The Royal Marines were stationed at Marseilles in the year 1789, a period when the revolutionary springs, which afterwards agitated the whole French empire,

* General Moreau was destined to follow the profession of his father, who had practised that of an advocate with considerable reputation, in his native town: but a predilection for a military life induced him, at a very early age, to enter the army as a private soldier. He was, however, redeemed from the ranks by his parent, and he resumed his studies.—*Vide the Author's Memoirs of General Moreau.*

The coincidence in the parentage and early designs of General Moreau and the present Crown Prince of Sweden is striking and singular.

were in their birth. The inhabitants of Marseilles were, generally, men of jacobinical principles, and they had succeeded in inciting the soldiers in the town to rise against their officers. When this object was accomplished, the mob determined on the murder of the Marquess D'Ambert, colonel of the Royal Marines, and they instantly proceeded to his hotel for the purpose of carrying their determination into effect.

Bernadotte, who had been absent at the commencement of the disturbance, fortunately arrived at the Marquess's hotel when the infuriated mob were advancing in the greatest tumult, to execute their design. He immediately went forward to address them, and notwithstanding the frenzied state in which they had approached the Marquess's hotel, the cool and determined manner of Bernadotte arrested, in an instant, their design. But when, however, it was perceived that his object was to impress them with the inhumanity and injustice of their wishes, many of the most violent cried out to him, that his addresses were unavailing; that he must concur in their determination to murder the Marquess, and that they had nominated him, Bernadotte, colonel of the Royal Marines, in his place.

Although the soldiers of Bernadotte's corps had mingled with the mob, and the men composing the other corps at that time in Marseilles, Bernadotte readily perceived that the former coincided in the address he had made, and having therefore drawn together a number of them, sufficient to protect the Marquess's abode, he immediately exclaimed to the rioters in the most energetic manner:—"Marseilles, as you assure me that I possess your confidence, I will prove

to you that I deserve it. I then absolutely declare, that I will not allow you to dishonour yourselves by a most base assassination. If the colonel is guilty, the law will render justice: citizens and soldiers are not executioners: I request you then to retire, as before you will obtain the head of the colonel, you must deprive me and the brave men who surround me of ours." This manly appeal had the desired effect; the mob quickly dispersed, and Bernadotte received the grateful thanks of his colonel and all the officers belonging to the corps.

Bernadotte, after this act of heroism and justice, became clerk to the parliament of Pau, the town of his nativity; and on the establishment of the national guards, he was appointed adjutant in those of Pau.—In 1793 he was promoted to the rank of colonel in the army of the north, where he commanded the 72d regiment of line infantry. During the latter year the following circumstance took place, which called forth in Bernadotte, all the fire of his nature and warmth of temper.

A high spirited officer, General Goguet, who, in the space of a year, had risen from the ranks to the command of a division, finding he could not rally his men, who had been routed, by words, endeavoured to gain that point by giving to several, blows with his sword:* one soldier, however, who had been thus treated, and who had lost sight of every respect to an officer whom he considered as possessing but little, if any, talent, on the general repeating his sabre blows shot him through the head.

* The *code militaire* of the French army authorizes an officer to strike any one runing away from an enemy.

Colonel Bernadotte had received several marks of favour from the unfortunate general; and from principles of gratitude and respect, entertained for him the warmest affection. Added to which, his regard for military discipline, and for the respect that is due from soldiers to their officers in every service, determined him to employ the utmost exertion to punish the assassin. He therefore immediately demanded from the commanding officer in whose corps the assassin served, that the culprit should, without loss of time, expiate by his death, the crime he had committed.

A plea of defence was directly advanced, that the soldier was innocent, having only repelled force by force. This plea was supported both by the officers and men of the corps to which the assassin belonged, and it was not till after Colonel Bernadotte had addressed them in the most warm and eloquent manner, on the disgrace with which they would be covered, if they protected the murderer; and satisfactorily proved that they would be infringing on the military regulations of the service, and expose themselves to similar conduct, that the criminal was given up, when he was instantly condemned and shot.

Soon after this period, Colonel Bernadotte was appointed to the command of General Kleber's advanced guard, and at the attack near Marchienne au Pont, was very much distinguished.

Bernadotte, at this attack, for the first time, had to execute the important duties of a general officer in the field of battle; and he conducted himself in such manner, as to obtain from the commander-in-chief of the

army in which he served, General Kleber, the following highly flattering remark:

"You have manœuvered like an old general, and I shall find it equally a pleasure, as it is also a duty, to announce to the Representatives, that though it is only your first attempt as a general, you have, by your ability, shewn yourself worthy of commanding your brave grenadiers.

At the siege of Charleroi, General Bernadotte was actively engaged, as well as at the seige of Maestricht, and the battle of Fleurus, in all of which he acquired much praise from his commander-in-chief; and from the humane conduct he constantly evinced, and by sharing with the meanest soldier in all the hardships of the campaign, he rendered himself very much beloved and respected by the whole army, and by the inhabitants of the several towns and fortresses which fell to the French arms.

General Bernadotte, in command of a division of General Kleber's army, after the fall of Maestricht, occupied Bonn, Cologne, and Coblentz; and in 1795 he was entrusted with the blockade of Mentz on the Cassel side.

After General Clairfait had forced the lines of Mentz, General Bernadotte was sent with his division to the Hundsruck, to arrest the progress of a corps General Clairfait had detached in that direction.

General Bernadotte vigorously attacked the town of Creutznach, which was occupied by a part of the Aus-

trian troops, succeeded in carrying it, and pursued* the routed enemy, taking many prisoners.

The armistice, concluded towards the end of December, 1795, occasioned a momentary suspension of hostilities. Shortly afterwards, General Kleber† manœuvred with the left of his army in the environs of Wetzlaar, and General Bernadotte advanced upon the Rower Lahn.

The terrour which the arms of the French had inspired in every direction, superseded all considerations but that of deprecating their hostility upon any terms. The late distinguished and lamented General Moreau's passage of the Lech had induced the Elector of Bavaria to make overtures to that accomplished veteran officer for a pacification. This indeed has been done by every prince and city that had not been able to resist the arms of General Moreau.

The Diet of Germany, convened as usual at Ratisbon, in a sitting on the 30th of July, for the purpose of consulting on the situation of affairs, gave evident

* Whilst in pursuit of the Austrians, a circumstance occurred, which, from its singularity, deserves notice. General Poncet, who had the command of a division of reserve to support General Bernadotte, on reaching Creutznach after the departure of the latter, was informed that several officers had quitted the ranks, and were refreshing themselves at an inn. The general hastened thither, and ordered the officers to rejoin their regiments: they refused to do so, alledging that they had ate nothing for thirty-six hours. Poncet fell upon them with flat strokes of the sabre, and many of them took to flight. One more obstinate than the rest placed his band upon his sword, and said haughtily to Poncet, "that he had always been partial to the point, and not the blade." The general, an excellent fencer, answered him, "As you like," and attacked the officer, who parried in the presence of more than twenty witnesses. After five or six thrusts without effect, Poncet run his sabre through the body of his adversary, who fell dead at his feet. "It is thus," said Poncet, wiping his sabre on the clothes of the deceased, "I treat all arguers."—*Vide General Sarazins's "Philosopher."*

† This distinguished officer made frequently the following observation: "I do not like the proud—I pity fools—I defeat cowards—and I abhor deceit and untruth."

proofs that they partook of the universal consternation which pervaded the empire.

The deputies of the princes and states of the empire came to a determination of opening a negociation for peace with France. All the members of the Diet acceded to it, except the deputies from Austria and Bohemia, who ascribed the disasters of the war to want of union among the states of the empire, and their backwardness to second their chief, the Emperour, in the common defence of their country.

But the dangers apprehended from the French appeared greater than that of opposing the desire of the Emperour: a decree was passed by the Diet, seriously to remonstrate to him, that in the present circumstances of the empire it was necessary, conformably to the wish of its divers members, to put an end to a war that had been so calamitous, and no longer to defer the concluding of a peace upon reasonable conditions.

Not content with this address to the Emperour, they looked upon the situation of the Diet as so precarious, that they commissioned deputies to repair to the French armies, to stipulate with the generals for the security and protection of the Diet, and for the public documents and archives in its custody, and for the neutrality of Ratisbon itself.

In this extremity the Archduke Charles, with great firmness of mind, determined to make a resolute attempt to extricate the Diet and the empire at once from the humiliating condition to which they were reduced.

The Archduke was at this time so hard pressed by the late General Moreau, that he could scarcely judge which of the two difficulties required most his attention; that of opposing General Moreau, whom he could not but regard as a most formidable adversary, or of hastening to the succour of General Wartensleben, who was opposed to General Jourdan, but who at this period had been continually unfortunate in every affair that took place between his corps and that of the French General.

General Jourdan had invariably maintained a superiority over General Wartensleben, and pushing him from post to post, was now advanced within a day's march of Ratisbon; no time was therefore to be lost in marching to his assistance. This was become the more indispensable, as a strong division of General Jourdan's army had been dispatched, under the immediate orders of General Bernadotte, with directions to proceed forthwith to Ratisbon.

The latter circumstance determined the Archduke Charles as to the proper step he should pursue: leaving, therefore, a strong corps of observation, under General Latour, to watch and report to him the motions of General Moreau, he rapidly advanced towards Ratisbon.

On the 17th of August the Archduke crossed the Danube at Ingolstadt, with the design of throwing himself between General Bernadotte and Ratisbon. General Jourdan on the same day had attacked Wartensleben in his encampment at Sultzbach: the army of the latter had received some reinforcements from the Archduke, and was more than equal in number to the

French. The action was obstinately contested on both sides: it lasted from early in the morning until eleven at night, when the French obtained possession of the ground on which the battle had been fought.

In the midst of the engagement, General Jourdan had directed General Championet to march with a strong division towards Augsbourg, in order to prevent the Austrians stationed at the latter place from coming to the assistance of their brother soldiers at Sultzbach. On his route to Augsbourg, General Championet fell in with the Austrians, and attacked them with so much impetuosity, as to oblige them to fall back on that town. The French army, early on the 28th, moved towards the Austrians, who were strongly posted in front of Augsbourg: the latter, however, did not wait the attack of the French, and forced them from the position they had taken. After a well-fought action, the French regained their post, and following up their success, obtained possession of the heights before Augsbourg, and obliged the Austrians to retreat across the Naab, there to wait the arrival of reinforcements.

The Archduke Charles, on receiving intelligence of the defeat of General Wartensleben at Augsbourg, and his subsequent retreat behind the Naab, instantly altered the direction of his route, and advanced to Hemman, which place he reached on the 20th August. General Nauendorff, who commanded the vanguard of the Austrian army, was immediately directed to proceed and take possession of the height of Taswaug, while Lieutenant-general Hotz marched with a column towards Bellugriess, to secure the Archduke's left, and the road from Ratisbon to Nuremberg.

General Nauendorff on the 22d, attacked the division under the orders of General Bernadotte at the village of Tenning. A sanguinary engagement ensued, which was attended with various success during the whole day.

The village was several times taken and retaken, the streets were strewed with dead bodies, and towards evening, the village was set on fire by the Austrians, under the impression, that by such means they would be enabled to dislodge the French, who were entrenched in the houses.

About this period, the left of General Bernadotte's corps was attacked by the right of the Archduke's army, and the 88th regiment of line, infantry, which was upon that point, obliged to retreat.

By the last success, the Austrians acquired possession of the grand road of Neumarkt, the only road by which the French could retreat; and the situation of General Bernadotte and his army was thus rendered extremely critical and dangerous, unless he could succeed in repelling his adversary.

Placing himself, therefore, at the head of his reserve,* and undismayed by the fatigue his troops had suffered during the whole day, (the engagement having lasted from day-break, and it being at the time late in the evening,) he determined on a most vigorous attempt to retake the ground his left had lost.

General Bernadotte had always the greatest reliance in his troops; he knew they were warmly attach-

* A battalion of grenadiers of the 37th regiment of line, infantry, and of the 7th regiment of dragoons, composing a force of about 5000 strong.

ed to him, and that he possessed the esteem and love of every man in his army; a knowledge few officers in the French service could at that period boast of. This was a time to put their fidelity and attachment to a trial: the men were exhausted with continual hard fighting, the reserve were dispirited by the ill success of their companions on the left, and nothing but the energetic spirits of their general could rouse them to any prompt and vigorous exertion. He put himself at their head, and addressed them in bold and animated terms—

"Soldiers and my friends,

"You know what care I have always taken of your welfare since I had the happiness of commanding such brave fellows as yourselves; the moment is now arrived for testifying your grateful sense of it, deserving well of your country, and covering yourselves with glory."

A general enthusiasm ran through the French ranks at the conclusion of this address; the soldiers answered with cheers, *"that they were ready to follow General Bernadotte to the bottom of hell."*

Gratified and inspired by the spirit he had kindled in his troops, General Bernadotte directed the charge to be beat, and advanced with the whole line in close columns against the centre of the Austrians. Nothing but the ardour by which his men were possessed would have encouraged him to this bold step: it was attended with complete success; his enemy was staggered at his daring movement, and although, in point of numbers, three times more numerous, the Austrians offered but a weak resistance to the French, and retired in confu-

sion to their former position. The Austrian General Starray's division was nevertheless, dispatched, the second evening, by the Archduke Charles, to threaten the left wing of the French, while other columns rapidly advanced towards Neumarkt.

The operations of the Archduke, which evinced great military talents, rendered it important that General Bernadotte should adopt the most cautious line of conduct, to prevent the destruction of his comparitively small army.* By the last movements of the Archduke, the situation of General Bernadotte was again most critical, and at 10 o'clock in the evening of the same day, the 22d, he consequently retreated to Neumarkt.

On the following day, (the 23d,) the Austrian cavalry and artillery advanced to the plain of Neumarkt, and a warm and destructive fire commenced. General Bernadotte, finding that his force was unequal to withstand a general attack from the superiour numbers of his adversary, took advantage of some tardy operations on the part of the Archduke Charles, and made good his retreat from Neumarkt to the neighbourhood of Altdorf.

General Jourdan having joined the army under General Bernadotte, he, on the 27th, directed the latter to attack a column consisting of the flower of the Archduke's army, and under the command of the Prince of Lichtenstien and General Kray, which had possessed itself of the great road leading from Bamberg to Wurtzburg. Several attacks took place, but

* The Archduke Charles had 25,000, General Bernadotte not more than 10,000.

without any decisive success attending either side: the 37th French infantry was defeated by an Austrian regiment of light horse, and it would have been entirely cut to pieces, if General Bernadotte had not timely dispatched a regiment of chasseurs to its aid; a sharp contest ensued, which ended in the overthrow of the Austrian light horse.

Towards the close of the day, General Jourdan dispatched instructions to General Bernadotte, "that he must cut himself a passage, sword in hand;" but afterwards directed a retreat along the right bank of the Maine, which General Bernadotte executed in the most perfect order.

The battle of Wurtzburg was fought by General Jourdan in direct opposition to the wishes of General Bernadotte and General Kleber, and neither of these officers were engaged: the former, General Bernadotte, reported himself unwell, a large tumour having formed in his forehead, whilst the latter took the command of some troops stationed at Schwemfurt. The consequences of the battle were such as General Bernadotte and Kleber* had predicted. General Jourdan was defeated, and obliged to form a rapid retreat, after experiencing a loss of 4500 men in killed and wounded; and in a short time afterwards, the Directory, dissatisfied with his conduct, recalled him from the army, to answer before them for his disastrous proceedings. When General Jourdan received this peremptory order, he essayed to obtain from Generals Kleber and

* On some officers observing on the injustice of the Directory, in the presence of General Kleber, at the time he was neglected by that assembly, and superseded by M. Bournonville in the command of his army, he remarked—"Soldiers ought to obey and be silent. If I had succeeded in getting myself decreed a legislator, I should have demanded with energy the reform of abuses. As long as I shall remain a general, I shall expose my breast for the defence of government, and turn my back upon those governours, who, like the present ones, are unworthy of the confidence of the nation."

Bernadotte a certificate of his good conduct: they, however, absolutely refused any compliance with his wishes.

General Bernadotte was highly exasperated against him. In the battle of Wurtzburg, the flower of his, Bernadotte's, corps had been entirely destroyed, and he justly regarded the commanding general as extremely culpable, in having exposed, by a rash and indefensible movement, the brave fellows entrusted to his command.

General Bernadotte, on being pressed by Jourdan to give the certificate already mentioned, observed, "I can only give you an attestation of imbecility; every body knows you are an honest man, a brave soldier, and a good citizen; but it is for the public interest that the government should be well convinced that you are incapable of successfully commanding in chief, even four men and a corporal."

Some time after the above affair, a few individuals, jealous of the high name and respect General Bernadotte had acquired, endeavoured by calumnious reports to lower him in the esteem of his friends: they industriously circulated a report in Paris that he was extremely mercenary, and had levelled contributions on the inhabitants of Nuremberg,* which had very much enriched him.

* General Sarazin has observed, that the burgomasters of Nuremberg offered General Bernadotte a considerable present in gold, which he refused, though it had been observed to him, that the Prussian and Austrian generals had never required much pressing to accept of smaller considerations. Bernadotte replied, "that every one was master of his own actions, and that the only reward he required of the magistrates, in return for keeping his troops in good discipline, was, that they would pay the greatest attention to his sick and wounded."

These reports were communicated to the General, and their falsity occasioned in him so much mortification, and anger, that he came to a determination of relinquishing the command he held, conceiving that in a less humble sphere he should be removed from that calumny which is always levelled, by the mischievous and ill-disposed, at those in power and exalted situations; he therefore addressed the Directory, for permission to retire on half-pay, and entered into an explanation of the circumstances that occasioned his application. The reply of the Directory, though it negatived this request, was couched in the most flattering and complimentary terms. He was recommended to punish with contempt the malevolence of those who could not know how to appreciate his services, and who only envied him, because he was their superiour in every moral excellence. And they concluded by observing, "that the French government relied on his talents and patriotism still to continue ably serving his country."

General Bernadotte was now directed by his friend, General Kleber, to take the command of a division of 15,000 men, which the Directory had required to join the army of Italy, under the order of Buonaparte; and in the month of February, 1797, he effected the passage of the Alps with his army in the most perfect condition.

The soldiers, however, on reaching Milan, were extremely dissatisfied, and actually refused to proceed: their pay was greatly in arrear, and there appeared to them no chance of its being paid up during the campaign. In this exigency, General Bernadotte was obliged to employ all his talents of persuasion

and firmness: he first addressed them with promises, and stated that the arrears should be discharged on the troops reaching Mantua; but Mantua offered in the opinions of the soldiers as little possibility for their payments as Milan, and they replied to their general, that though they entertained for him every respect and regard that soldiers should, when under the command of a distinguished officer, they were nevertheless determined on not marching from Milan, before they received the whole of the pay due to them.

General Bernadotte perceived that persuasion was useless, and that the whole were governed by the opinions of a few: he immediately altered his tone, and addressing his men with the greatest firmness, he observed—

"Soldiers,

"If you refuse obedience to my command, I am authorized by the military code, to kill every man who refuses to march against the enemy, and either you shall have the ignominy of having assassinated your general, who has been so long a father to you, or I will run my sabre through the body of every mutineer."

After this address the general marched to the right of the 90th regiment, and pointing his sword to the breast of the first grenadier, he ordered him to wheel to the right, unless he preferred to be run through the body. The soldier obeyed, and the whole army followed in regular order.

This anecdote alone is a sufficient proof of the intrepidity and firmness of the character of the Crown

Prince of Sweden, and from it, every one may readily perceive that he will not be thwarted in any measures or proceedings he may think it necessary to adopt, by trivial causes or timid opposition.

General Bernadotte's division at the passage of the Tagliamento, on the 17th of March, 1797, was posted on the right of Buonaparte's army. The Austrians had hastily thrown up intrenchments on the left bank of the Tagliamento, but as it was almost every where fordable, and as the French could effect the passage out of the reach of the enemies batteries, they became almost useless.

The French marched to the right and left of the entrenchments, and under the protection of a numerous artillery and a crowd of sharp-shooters, the passage of the Don was effected, though not without opposition and loss on the part of the Austrians. The French infantry on effecting a landing, were immediately charged by the Austrian cavalry, and the former were for some time obliged to give way; but being afterwards supported by their own cavalry, the Austrians, notwithstanding every exertion, were compelled to give way, and finally, to make a rapid retreat, after experiencing a loss of six pieces of cannon, a great number in killed and wounded, and from four to five hundred men in prisoners.

On the following day, the 18th, the French army entered and took possession of the fortress of Palma Nuova. The same day the army advanced as far as the Torre, its left stretching to the foot of the mountains bordering the plains of Friuli.

On the 19th, the French marched to the Izonzo, and the town of Gradiska, situated on the right bank of that river, and which was rather a *tete de pont* than a regular fortification, was surrounded by the divisions under the command of Generals Bernadotte and Sur-rurier.

General Bernadotte ineffectually endeavoured to carry the town by storm, and afterwards sent the following summons to the commandant:

"Sir,

"You have defended yourself like a brave man, and by doing so, have acquired the esteem of military men; but a longer resistance on your part, would be a crime, which I would revenge principally on you; and to justify myself in the eye of posterity, I must summon you to surrender in ten minutes: if you refuse, I shall put your garrison to the sword.

"Spare the blood which will not be felt but by your fault. The principles of philantrophy, which ought to animate every commander, lay the obligation upon you. The scaling ladders are ready; the grenadiers and chasseurs are impatient for the assault—Answer."

This summons was successful, and the garrison were made prisoners of war. The commander-in-chief, Buonaparte, expressed great satisfaction at the manner in which General Bernadotte conducted this operation; and in his report to the Directory, he made the following observation:

"General Bernadotte caused the enemy's entrenchment to be attacked by the sharp-shooters; but our

soldiers, carried away by their natural ardour, advanced with bayonets fixed, under the very walls of Gradiska. They were received by a very heavy firing of musketry and case shot. General Bernadotte, obliged to support them, ordered four pieces of cannon to be brought forward, to force the gates; but they were covered by a strong redoubt. He sent the Austrian commandant a summons, and upon which he capitulated.

"Three thousand prisoners, the choice of Prince Charles's army, ten pieces of cannon, and eight colours, are the fruits of this manœuvre.

"General Bernadotte's division has conducted itself with a bravery which is a guarantee of our future successes. General Bernadotte, his aids-de-camp, his generals, braved every danger, &c."

At this time the Izonzo was forded by the right of the French army, near Cossegliano, while the left having forced the passage of Chiusa advanced into the valley of the same name, and pushed on to Ponteba, on the frontiers of Carinthia.

The Archduke Charles, who on the 18th, had his head quarters at Goritia, finding his position was in danger of being turned by the French, transferred them two days afterwards, to Vippach, and Buonaparte, shortly afterwards, established his head quarters at Goritia, where he remained till the 25th.

The whole of Buonaparte's army was at the latter date, in Carniola and Carinthia. A part of the right wing had pushed on to Trieste, and obtained posses-

sion of that place. The centre of the army was upon the Save, and the left wing upon the Drave.

On the 28th, the left wing arrived at Villach, and on the 29th, it, 30,000 strong, advanced against Clagenfurth. The following day, after having obtained a slight advantage over the Austrian rear guard, the left wing of the French army took possession of Clagenfurth. In the mean time, Laybach was evacuated, the 28th, by General Seckendorff, into which General Bernadotte entered on the 30th, and there took up his quarters.*

* General Massena's division was also quartered at Laybach, and a circumstance took place deserving of notice, during the stay of these divisions, the details of which I shall here give on the authority of General Sarazin:—

"General Duphot, of Massena's division, came to play at billiards, without any distinctive marks of his rank, and made a party with an officer of the 19th regiment of chasseurs. The general, an ardent patriot, only made use of the term *citizen*, whilst his antagonist called him nothing but *monsieur*, or *sir*. Duphot, tired with hearing himself spoken to in a manner which appeared to him as aristocractic, requested him to call him citizen. The officer refused, observing that he knew of no citizen but before the tribunals; and that the appellation of sir, appeared to him the only one proper in the intercourse of society. Duphot, nettled at this refusal, gave him a challenge, which the officer accepted. The standers-by opposed it, unwilling that a general of the army of Italy should fight with a sub-lieutenant of the army of the Rhine: that was the rank of the officer, who, having learnt the rank of Duphot, also refused to be concerned with him, but declared himself ready to accept the match with any officer of his own rank, who might think proper to object to his using the word monsieur, (sir.) He was taken at his word, and killed Massena's officer with a sword thrust in the lungs in the presence of several spectators of the two divisions. Massena and Berandotte were absent: The former was gone to Paris, to carry to the Directory the ratification of the preliminaries of the peace of Leoben, by his majesty the Emperour of Germany; and Bernadotte was gone on an excursion to Trieste, where he awaited the arrival of his division. General Brune, who is now a marshal, filled Massena's place. The cause of the fatal duel which had just taken place, was very soon known. The jacobins exclaimed loudly against the messieurs, who thought proper to kill citizens, and the soldiers of each division immediately flew to arms. General Brune sent for me, (General Sarazin) as commanding per interim Bernadotte's division. He requested me to insert immediately in the orders of the day, 'that it was forbidden to call one another *monsieur*, and, instead of which, they were ordered to use the term citizen,'—rendering me responsible for any event that might occur from my refusal. I answered the general, 'that I had my orders from General Bernadotte; that I knew his sentiments with respect to the affair in question; that I was certain I should infinitely displease him by acquiesing in the measure proposed; and that besides, the troops would certainly refuse to adopt that step, as quite unconnected with their military duty.' At the same moment some one came

Buonaparte, to whom the time for making peace now appeared the most favourable, on the 31st of March, addressed the following* letter to the Archduke Charles.

"Sir, and Commander-in-Chief,

"Brave soldiers make war and desire peace. Has not this contest, in which we are now engaged, lasted for six years? Have we not slain a sufficient number of fellow creatures, and caused enough of misery to afflicted humanity?—She implores on all sides.

"Europe has laid down the arms she had taken up against the French Republic. Your nation stands

to inform General Brune, that the 32d regiment of Massena's, and the 30th regiment of Bernadotte's divisions, were under arms in the great place, ready to fight.—We immediately repaired there.

Whilst Brune was paying very great compliments to his troops upon their patriotism, I requested him to call his officers and subalterns together in the centre of the square, where I also collected together the officers and subalterns of Bernadotte's division. Colonel Dupuy headed the malcontents. Brune repeated his entreaties, assuring me, that if I would adopt his advice, matters would rest there. I persisted in my refusal loudly exclaiming, 'that it was imcomprehensible how officers should be so selfish, as to expose the soldiers by the consequences of their quarrel; and that it was not in the barracks, but in the field, and man to man, that those who considered themselves insulted, ought to terminate their dispute.' After which, I offered to match myself against General Brune, if it should appear necessary to him. as I called him *monsieur;* and I ordered Bernadotte's officers and troops immediately to separate, which was done. Brune, on his side, did the same. A great many individual affairs took place, the result of which was fifty killed, and about three hundred wounded; of which latter, according to the hospital accounts, two-thirds were of Massena's division. I must say, to the praise of the plenipotentiaries, that they waited on me as soon as they heard of the dispute between the troops, and entreated me very earnestly to do whatever I thought would soonest appease it. A rumour was then very wrongfully circulated, that Count Merfeldt and Baron Degelman were the instigators of this quarrel. On my arrival at Trieste, Bernadotte, who had been informed of all that had passed, returned me his thanks for having so well fulfilled his intentions; adding, that if I had followed Brune's advice, he would no longer have employed me about him, as his division had no occasion for lessons of bravery or civism from the army of Italy."

* I have had occasion to notice this document in my memoirs of General Moreau. At the period it was written, Buonaparte was idolized by those who could not perceive the cunning and policy that directed all his actions, and the annals of the English history are disgraced by the most weak and fulsome panegyricks on "the noble and disinterested conduct of Buonaparte."

alone; and yet blood is about to be more profusely shed than ever! Fatal presages preside over this 6th Campaign. Whatever may be its issue, we shall yet destroy several thousands of men on both sides, and, sooner or later, this struggle must end in a mutual agreement, since every thing has its turn, even the passion of hatred.

"The desire which the executive Directory entertains of putting an end to a war that afflicts the two nations, was made known to his Imperial Majesty: the intervention of the court of London opposed it. Is there then no hope of a good understanding between us? And must we continue to butcher one another, for the interests and the passions of a nation which knows not the evils of war?

"You, Commander-in-chief, whom birth has placed so near the throne; who are superiour to the little passions which often influence ministers and governments; have you resolved to deserve the title of Benefactor of Humanity, and True Saviour of Germany? Do not suppose, sir, and Commander-in-chief, that I mean to imply, that it is impossible for you to save your country by the force of arms; but even granting that the chance of war should be favourable to you, Germany will, nevertheless, be laid waste. As for me General, if the overture which I have the honour to make to you, can save the life of a single man, I shall pride myself more upon the civic crown, that my conscience will tell me I thus shall have deserved, than upon the melancholy glory which arises from military success.

"I entreat you, sir, and Commander-in-chief, to believe in the sentiments of esteem, and high consideration, with which I am, &c.

"BUONAPARTE."

Reply of the Archduke Charles to the foregoing letter.

"General,

"While I make war, and obey the calls of honour and of duty, I certainly desire a peace as you do, for the sake of humanity, and for the happiness of nations.—But, nevertheless, as in the post entrusted to my charge, it does not belong to me to scrutinize, or terminate the quarrel between the belligerent powers, and as I have even no full power from his majesty, the Emperour, I trust you will find it natural, General, that I should not enter into any negotiation upon that head with you; and that I should await superiour orders upon a subject of such high importance, and which does not properly come within my province.

"Whatever may be the future chances of war, or the hopes of peace, I beg you will be assured, General, of my esteem and high consideration.

"CHARLES, Field Marshal."

In consequence of this overture, on the part of Buonaparte, the Generals Bellegarde and Meerfelt were dispatched by the Emperour of Austria to Judembourg, with full powers to treat concerning a suspension of arms, or even for a peace. The former was mutually agreed to, and would have been of high importance to Buonaparte, in the event of a renewal of hostilities. It was agreed upon for six days; but

the articles* of agreement had given to Buonaparte a most important line of positions, without a struggle, and which, it is more than probable, he could not have gained at that time, by force of arms. At the expiration of the six days, it was prolonged; and on the 18th of April, the preliminaries of peace were signed at Leoben.

To judge accurately of the character and sentiments of statesmen, it is not only necessary to consider their public acts and opinions, but also to be, in a material degree, guided by their private sentiments when such are to be ascertained. The opinions of General Bernadotte, on the republican measures, in the year 1797, are, in some measure, to be judged of by the following letter on the events of the 18th *Fructidor*.

* Article 1st. There shall be a suspension of arms between the Imperial and French armies, commencing on this night, the 7th of April, and continuing until the night of the 13th inst.

Article 2d. The French army shall preserve the following line:—The outposts of the right wing of that army shall remain in the positions they now occupy between Fiume and Trieste. The line shall extend through Treffen, Lithay, Windish, Feistriz, Marchburg, Ehrenhausen, the right bank of the Muehr, Gratz, Bruck, Leoben, Traffejack, Mautern, the road from Mautern as far as Rottenmann, Irding, the valley of the Drave, and Lintz.

Article 3d. A suspension of arms shall also take place in the Tyrol. The Generals commanding the French and Imperial troops in that quarter, shall agree together upon the posts to be occupied by them.

Hostilities shall not re-commence in the Tyrol until twenty-four hours after the Generals-in-chief shall have so arranged it, and, at all events, twenty-four hours after the Generals commanding the French and Imperial troops in the Tyrol, shall have reciprocally warned each other of it.

Paris, the 18th of *Fructidor*, 5th year.
(5th September, 1797, old style.)

"I wrote thee in haste to inform thee, that a new royal conspiracy was about breaking out, had it not been for the foresight of the Directory, who were upon the point of being destroyed.

"Pichegru, Willot, Villaret Joyeuse, and Rovere are arrested. The grenadiers of the legislative body have fraternized with the troops of the 17th division, as also with the guards of the Directory. The republicans have triumphed; not a drop of blood has been spilt; consequently, no tears to shed. Guilt sheds none, but it shall be punished.

"Every thing goes on well—the councils have assembled; meanwhile, the Directory, in unveiling the conspiracy, has proclaimed the pain of death against whoever should exclaim, 'Long live the King!' or, 'The Constitution of 1793!' This proves the wisdom and the justice of the measures taken. All the people cry out, 'Long live the republic!'—and so do I.

(Signed.) "J. BERNADOTTE."

During the peace between France and Austria, concluded October 17, 1797, the division of General Bernadotte was quartered at Treviso, and he devoted himself to perfecting his troops in the military art, and acquired for them a very high character, both throughout the French and Austrian armies.

He was afterwards appointed by the Directory on an embassy to Vienna, and was received at that court in the most flattering manner. A circumstance, how-

ever, occurred within a short time from his arrival, that rendered his departure indispensable.

The inhabitants of Vienna, on the 13th of April 1798, had a grand fete, in commemoration of the arming of the volunteers levied for the war in 1796. This mark of loyalty and attachment on the part of the volunteers was recorded among the public acts of government, and orders were given by the Emperour, that its anniversary should be celebrated with ceremonies of civil pomp and religious solemnity. The measure was, perhaps, not politic at the moment, as the two nations were at peace, and it was not otherwise calculated to produce any necessary effect.

In consequence of this intended fete, General Bernadotte* was persuaded to celebrate on the same day, at his hotel, the victories gained by the armies of the French republic. Whilst the people of Vienna, were engaged in their carousal, the tri-coloured flag was hoisted at General Bernadotte's hotel, and instantly occasioned a general ferment throughout the city: the inhabitants assembled in the most tumultuous manner, and surrounded the hotel with cries of—"Down with the republican colours—long live the Emperour!"

The cry was resisted by the friends of General Bernadottte, and in a short time a conflict took place be-

* In the History of Europe for 1799, the following observation occurs: "The conduct of Bernadotte, as well as that of his suite, was marked by an uncommon degree of insolence from the day of their arrival in Vienna. Bernadotte imitated the conduct of Joseph Buonaparte at Rome, by demanding that the quarter of the city where he resided should be free, and that all Frenchmen residing in Vienna should be amenable to him only for their conduct. He was in the habit of conversing with the Austrian private soldiers and non-commissioned officers, and remarking to them, that it was only under a republican government that a man could rise from the ranks, as he had done, or be a general officer and an ambassadour."—*Vide Annual Register.*

tween his people and the inhabitants. The flag was torn to pieces, and the standard to which it was attached burnt. The resentment of the people, once excited to action, could not stop here; they burst open the gates of the hotel, threatening to sacrifice the ambassadour, as well as his suite, to their vengeance. Every thing they found on the ground floor of the hotel they demolished, and seizing two of General Bernadotte's carriages, they dragged them, the one to a neighbouring square, the other to the court of the palace, and broke them to pieces.

General Bernadotte perceived that his life was in imminent danger; it was exposed to a headstrong multitude, heated with wine and national feelings; the windows of his hotel were all broken, many of the doors forced, and it was apparent that nothing but force on his part would protect his own person from their fury.

He directed his attendants to fire on all who should attempt any farther entry into the hotel. Many were consequently wounded, but this step put an end to the assaults of the populace.

Notwithstanding the riot and tumult occasioned by the inhabitants of Vienna at the hotel of General Bernadotte, it was not till some hours after its commencement, and when the people had dispersed themselves, that the military made their appearance. This last circumstance occasioned much mortification to the French general; he conceived himself entitled to the strongest protection of the Austrian government, while acting as the ambassadour of a friendly power;

and it was evident that no exertion had been made to protect him from the insults offered.

On the following day he dispatched one of his secretaries with a letter to the Emperour, requiring, as conditions of his continuing at Vienna,

1st, The dismissal of the minister, Thuguet;

2d, The punishment of the mayor of Vienna;

3d, The establishment of a privileged quarter in the city of Vienna for the French mission and its compatriots;

4th, That the Emperour should repair, at his own expense, the flag and the flag-staff, and the picture of the French arms.

These demands being peremptorily refused, General Bernadotte, notwithstanding very pressing solicitations for his stay from the Emperour of Austria, insisted upon having his passports, and immediately departed for Rastadt.

The court of Vienna lost no time in making a humiliating communication to the French Directory, and offered every satisfaction that could prevent a renewal of hostilities between the two powers. Humiliating concessions to the Directory carried with them more influence over the minds of that degenerate assembly, than every other step; and consequently, this business was treated at the moment with indifference, and hush-

ed up as much as possible, although it was afterwards made one of the grounds for complaint.*

For the ostensible purpose of explanation, and preventing any disagreeable consequences that might arise from this popular explosion, a secret conference was opened at Seltz, on the Rhine, opposite Rastadt, between the Count Cobentzel on the part of his Imperial Majesty, and Baron Neufchateau on that of the Directory.

* *Extract from the Manifesto of the French Republic, or Message of the Directory to the Councils, stating the Reasons of France for declaring War against the Emperour of Germany and the Grand Duke of Tuscany.*

"If at the first news of this event, the Directory had not had some foundation for seeing in it only the work of two courts eager to revive the war upon the continent; if they could have believed that the Emperour was acquainted with the plot fabricated under his eyes, they would not have hesitated a moment to incite the national vengeance against so outrageous a violation of the state of peace and the rights of nations which had been so religiously respected by the republic, even in the midst of the most violent storms of the revolution But it was possible, that the cabinets of London and Petersburg might have prepared and directed by their agents. a tumult, neither known nor approved by the Emperour. The expressions of regret conveyed, in the first moments after the occurrence, by M. de Coloredo to the ambassadour of the republic, and the announced appointment of M. Degelman to Paris, were motives for thinking that the imperial court would hasten to investigate and punish an attack, whose existence it acknowledged. and of which it feared to appear the accomplice. When it was also known, that the minister, who was accused of having seconded the fury of England and Russia, had resigned his place to the Count de Cobentzel, and that the latter was to proceed to Seltz, to make reparation, the Directory could not repent having occasioned these conferences. They shewed themselves less ready to yield to the first impulse of a legitimate resentment, than eager to remove by mutual explanation, every thing that opposed the establishment of the most perfect harmony. Such was their desire to produce conciliation, that the envoy-extraordinary of the republic was definitely instructed to content himself, in reparation for the event at Vienna on the 13th of April, with a simple disavowal, and a declaration that endeavours would be made to discover the guilty. But scarcely had the conferences been opened at Seltz, when the imperial court altered its tone and its conduct; Baron Degelman did not proceed to Paris, M de Thuguet returned to the ministry; and the investigation which had been commenced, remained unavailing and ineffectual.—The Count de Cobentzel, instead of offering or giving the reparation which was the principal object of his mission, affected to direct the discussion to other points. He concluded by declining all satisfaction, even that with which the republic would have contented herself, *when he was convinced that the Directory would not listen to the insinuations by which the court of Vienna wished to render her, in the midst even of peace, an accomplice in the strangest spoliations.*"

The Count declared, that although his Imperial Majesty was ready to grant ample satisfaction for what had happened, in regard to General Bernadotte, yet, from a due regard to the sentiments of the people of Vienna, it was necessary to conduct this business without precipitation, and without noise.

The interests of both countries, he said, seemed to require that the conferences at Seltz should be chiefly devoted to the settlement of some more material points, which called for a definitive arrangement.

Neufchateau having acquiesced in this proposition, Count Cobentzel went a step farther, and proposed, that as the congress of Rastadt was a mere farce, acted on the part of the empire under the imperial cabinet and ecclesiastical courts, the negotiation for peace should be carried on entirely, and brought to an issue, at Seltz; at the close of which it would be easy to force Prussia and the empire to admit what had been agreed on between Austria and France. By command of the Directory, Neufchateau rejected the latter proposition, but entered into the discussion of other proposals.

General Bernadotte perceiving the actual state of affairs, instantly set out from Rastadt for Paris; and on his arrival, he was offered by the Directory a command in one of the interiour provinces of France, and which he indignantly refused.

Some communications afterwards took place between the General and the chief members of the Directory, and he was persuaded to accept the appointment of ambassadour to Holland; before which, how-

ever, he addressed the following epistle to the Directory:

"Citizen Directors,

"The minister for the foreign department has informed me, that you had appointed me minister to the Batavian republic: the advantages offered by such an honourable mission are certainly flattering; and although far from my country, I should be very much pleased to live among men who know the social benefits; but I am prevented from complying with your wishes in that respect, because I am totally displeased with diplomatic functions.

"I have explained very fully my sentiments in a dispatch anteriour to the affair of Vienna: you know I was by no means flattered by the embassy to the Emperour of Austria; and that in obeying, I intended to give the Directory another proof of my devotion to the republic. Were I going to live with the descendants of John de Wit, and de Tromp, the Batavian republic would find in me a sincere admirer of its glory, and a warm partizan of its prosperity. Your knowledge of mankind will not fail to unite in my successour the same zeal, the same purity of intention, and the same eagerness to forward your benevolent views.

"The approbation that you bestow on my military and diplomatic conduct is respectfully received. Every thing relative to my second career is interesting to me, on account of the errours which several journalists have committed in the accounts which they have given to the public. It affords me pleasure to believe the time is not far distant, when the policy of the government

will permit the French nation to be informed according to the exact truth, &c.

(Signed) "J. BERNADOTTE."

When the negotiations at Rastadt were terminated, General Bernadotte was appointed to the important situation of General-in-chief of the army of observation; and he shortly after received instructions to blockade Philipsburg.

On the 2d of March, a detachment of the army of observation had taken possession of the town of Manheim, in consequence of a capitulation; and on the same day General Bernadotte presented himself before Philipsburg, which, in compliance with the treaty of Campo-Formio, was only garrisoned with troops of the Austrian empire, commanded by the Rhingrave of Salm.

General Bernadotte sent the commandant a summons, in which the blame of the renewal of the war was imputed to the proceedings of the cabinet of Vienna. He observed, that the taking possession of the town of Ulm made it necessary for the French to seize upon Philipsburg; and stated that the garrison of the latter place was not in a state to defend it.

General Bernadotte also observed—"I must tell you yet farther, General: I know that your garrison is discontented; that the officers of it are too wise and enlightened to lavish their blood, to gratify the selfishness and caprice of a few arrogant men; and that the soldiers only wait the signal of attack to declare their dissatisfaction. When the inhabitants shall see that their houses are soon to become a prey

to the flames, they will presently determine which side to take. The artillery of Landau, which is advancing, will furnish them with what they have long waited for, a sufficient motive to compel their commandant to deliver up the keys.

"The terrible example which General Mack has given to all those who lead soldiers to battle against their will, must have afforded you ample matter for alarming reflections. But without adverting to those considerations, the army under my command has sufficient means to compel the fortress to surrender. I cannot repeat often enough, General, that I will not place a garrison in your fortress *as an enemy*—far from it; I mean *only to hold the place for the German empire;* and I call the world to witness, that I declare that I will restore Philipsburgh to the empire, as soon as the French government shall be satisfied that the empire can defend it against the ambition of the *house of Austria.*

"Should you oblige me to give orders for the assault, I am sure I cannot but succeed, as the number of troops I have with me, and the other means I possess, render it *impossible* I should fail. But the punishment of those who have been the cause of resistance to the French republic, shall be *terrible; nor will I restrain the rage* of the soldiers, who will give way to their fury against you."*

* I will not attempt a defence of this summons, to threaten a soldier with a *terrible* punishment, for faithfully and conscientiously discharging his duty, and to declare that no measures should be taken "*to restrain the rage of the soldiers*" was imitating the language of the Directory of France: and a mode of proceeding, which from late occurrences, it is to be supposed the Crown Prince of Sweden would shrink from. I cannot however avoid drawing a comparison between this summons and the conduct of General Moreau, in 1794. When General Moreau summoned the town of Sluys to surrender, its governour, Vanderduyn, replied, "The honour of defending a place

Reply of the Rhingrave of Salm.

"General Bernadotte,

"Your letter which was brought to me by Adjutant Goudin, is of such a nature as I could not have expected to receive at this moment, when peace is on the point of being signed between the German empire and the French republic. Surely General, it must be your own opinion, that I should be culpable, were I to deliver up a fortress, the command of which has been entrusted to me by the General-in-chief of the army of the empire. He is not far distant; and the place where the deputies to the congress for the peace of the empire now meet, is still nearer.

"The orders and instructions which I may receive from those two quarters, will regulate my conduct.—While, in expectation of these orders, which, when I receive, I shall immediately communicate to you, at present I can only act as every man of honour must act in my place.

"The situation of the fortress under my command, is not such as you appear to believe, nor do I know of any discontent among the garrison. I must, therefore, declare to you, that I will not receive a French garri-

like Sluys, that of commanding a brave garrison, and the confidence reposed in me are my only answer." It was early in the month of July, that General Moreau first set down before Sluys, and the brave garrison, determined on resisting the rapid advances the French had made in their occupation of the Austrian Flemish provinces and towns, continued to make a most vigorous defence until the 25th of August when it surrendered. The soldier-like resistance which they displayed, induced General Moreau with Roman greatness of mind and true glory, to grant advantageous conditions to the garrison, and he strongly expressed his pride and satisfaction in having been opposed to soldiers of such determined gallantry.—*Vide the Author's Memoirs of General Moreau*, p. 25.

son into the place, nor commence hostilities, though I will resist any attack. The assailants will be answerable to our contemporaries, and to posterity, for all the calamities which may follow, in consequence of this attack.

"Auttenheim, near Philipsburg,
"2d March, 1799."

The inundations forming the principal defence of Philipsburg, its fortifications having been rebuilt only with earth, General Bernadotte was prevented from approaching near enough to be able to speedily reduce the place; and, notwithstanding the declaration contained in his summons, that he could not but succeed, as the number of troops he had with him, and the other means he possessed, rendered it impossible he should fail, he was compelled to turn the siege into a blockade, and even this he was under the necessity of raising soon after.

In the mean time, General Ferino, commanding the right wing of General Jourdan's army, proceeded along the valley of the Rhine, through the Forest towns, and arrived on the 5th of March at Engen, and on the 6th at Blumberg. The space between the latter place and Schaffhausen was occupied by a demi-brigade, detached from the army of Switzerland, to establish its communications with that of Mentz.

The centre of General Jourdan's army divided itself into two columns, which advanced, one by the valley of Hell, and the other by the valley of Kinche, both directing their course towards that of the Danube.

General Jourdan, who had accompanied the latter column with his staff, had his head quarters at Gengembach on the 3d; on the 4th at Haslach, on the 5th at Hornberg, and on the 6th at Villingen. At the latter date, the vanguards of the two centre columns had arrived, one upon the left, and the other upon the right bank of the Danube.

The left wing, which took the road to Kniebis, under the orders of General St. Cyr, arrived at Frydenstadt on the 2d, quitted it on the 4th, traversed the Duchy of Wurtemburg, directing part of its force towards Rothweil, and part towards Tubingen, and reached the Necker at the same time that General Jourdan arrived on the Danube.

Thus on the 6th, the whole French army was beyond the mountains of the Black Forest. Its right was at Blumberg, near Schaffhausen, and its left at Rothweil. The army of observation at the same time spread itself into the country of Hesse Darmstadt, and into the Palatinate, and was busily employed in repairing the fortifications of Manheim.

The different corps of General Jourdan's army experienced in their march no impediments, as the Austrians were still at a great distance, and the Duke of Wurtemberg, the only prince who could have thrown any obstacle in their way, observed the strictest neutrality, to which he was compelled, by the armistice subsisting between France and the empire; by his own military weakness; and, still more, by the dread of giving the French a pretence for revolutionizing his states.

The French plenipotentiaries had, during the winter, taken advantage of their residence at Rastadt, and of the differences then existing between that prince and his subjects, to dispose the latter to revolt. That the entry of the French into the Duchy of Wurtemburg did not produce a revolution in that state, is to be attributed to the consciousness of the uncertainty attending military events, and to the hope entertained by the French of being able to detach the princes of the empire from the cause of the Emperour.

Notwithstanding the promises of General Jourdan the French contented themselves with preying upon the Duchy of Wurtemberg, and treated it almost as badly as the Brisgaw, on which they had levied all kinds of contributions. Their amity with the new Elector of Bavaria did not even protect the Palatinate from their rapacity.

The absolute necessity, under which the French government laboured, of subsisting its armies, and the impossibility of doing that at its own expense, outweighed every other consideration. The district of Rastadt was alone respected; that town was declared neutral, and General Jourdan gave a safeguard to the Congress, which, being almost separated from Germany by the advance of the French armies, and having moreover but a very precarious and limited communication with the rest of the empire, gave hopes to the cabinet of the Luxemberg of realizing its project of a partial pacification.

The Directory relying as much on the success of its arms as on its political intrigues, and on the talents of General Jourdan as much as on those of the nego-

tiators, Bonnier, Roberjot, and Jean Debry, with an affectation of Roman pride, changed the name of the army of Mentz to that of the army of the Danube, and appointed General Jourdan Commander-in-chief of the three armies of the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, and of Switzerland.

General Bernadotte commanded the first, and General Massena the last of these two armies, under the superiour command of General Jourdan.

General Bernadotte was in a short time called from his command of the army of the Lower Rhine, to fill the post of War Minister. The successes of the Austrians in Italy, combined with the reverses the French armies had began to experience in Germany, very much alarmed the leading members of the Directory. It became evident to them, that to again obtain success, the French war department must be entrusted to the control of a minister whose expansive mind would enable him to direct the whole military force of the empire in such manner as to insure it a reasonable probability of success. General Bernadotte was considered as an officer well qualified for so important a trust, and to him it was confided by the unanimous consent of the Directory.

The following very just observations are made by Madame la Baronne de Staël Holstein, on these events:*

* Vide her "Appeal to the Nations of Europe."

"Never since the commencement of the war had the military situation of France been worse. The flatterers of Buonaparte had not failed to ascribe the salvation of the French republic to his return from Egypt*: it has been his constant practice to appropriate to himself the successes which were prepared for him by others. The revolutions which took place, even in the interiour of the Directory, had disorganized the armies, and caused their reverses. A man, who has since been called to higher destinies, by his genius and activity, succeeded, in a ministry of two months duration, in reforming the disorders, the dilapidations, and abuse of every kind, which were at their height.

"The armies were reinforced, provided with every requisite, and, as it were, created again—in this manner General Bernadotte secured, as a minister, the victories which he knew how to gain as a soldier. As a consequence of the re-establishment of the armies, the English were driven out of Holland: Massena resumed the offensive in Switzerland against the Russians, and Moreau made head against the Austrians in Italy, before Buonaparte had done any thing more for the republic than to seize upon the supreme power."

General Bernadotte made every exertion to repair the state of the French armies, and to restore confidence to the troops; but it was very evident that the means within the reach of the Directory, were not equal to the projects they had formed, and, in the execution of many of them, they therefore consequently failed.

* On Buonaparte's return from Egypt, the Directory ordered General Bernadotte, the minister at war, to arrest the fugitive general, and to try him by a military tribunal. This order, Bernadotte declined to execute, and apprised Buonaparte of his danger, generously supposing that imperious circumstances, and not any want of skill or courage prevented the success of the expedition to Egypt.

The month of July and the beginning of August, although not marked by any great military enterprize, were devoted to projects and military measures for future operations. The French pressed the levy of their conscripts, composed battalions of them, and formed two new armies: one of them was destined to act upon the Rhine, and invade Franconia and Suabia; the other, under the name of the army of the Alps, was to cover France on the side of Dauphine and Provence; to act offensively in Piedmont; and also to cooperate with an army which occupied the Genoese.

They likewise marked out a camp near Geneva, to defend the entrance of France by the way of the Valais and Savoy. They were at once taken up in concerting defensive measures, as well as offensive projects; and they supposed that under the direction of the war minister, General Bernadotte, they should, before the end of the campaign find victory brought back under the colours of the four republican armies of Italy, of the Alps, of the Danube, and of the Rhine.

The expectations, however, of General Bernadotte, were not so sanguine as those entertained by the Directory. He foresaw the utter impossibility of carrying into execution those points relating to the French army, which he conceived essential, and this consideration, together with his conviction, that the Directory were totally incompetent to the discharge of their offices, in a manner that would benefit the French nation, finally determined him, General Bernadotte, to tender his resignation, and which was instantly accepted by that body, the members composing it, having prior to this event, and within a few days, received advice, that it was General Bernadotte's wish to see the

Directory displaced, and which, although not generally credited at the time, certainly occasioned much mistrust. General Bernadotte retired to a small house in the Fauxbourg de Mousseaux, and gave himself up to domestic enjoyments.

General Bernadotte, however, did not resign his trust, before he had given many proofs of great benevolence and magnanimity; one instance I shall introduce. The Duke D'Enghien, in 1799, came secretly to Paris, Buonaparte was then in Egypt, the government was without force, and the Bourbon party hoped to regain its power. The Duke D'Enghien confided in General Bernadotte, through a common friend, his being at Paris, and offered him the post of Constable of France, if he would restore the Bourbons. "I cannot serve their cause," replied he, "but as the descendant of a hero, and as a man who has placed confidence in me, no harm shall happen to him: let the Duke depart instantly, for his secret may in three days, be no longer mine." The Duke D'Enghien departed without molestation, and retired to the territory of Baden, whence he was treacherously seized, and assassinated by Buonaparte.

In August, 1798, General Bernadotte had married an amiable woman of the name of Mademoisselle Clary, sister to the wife of Joseph Buonaparte, and whose father was a rich and respectable merchant: on the 6th of July, 1799, he was blessed with a son, who in conformity with the ruling fashion of the day, was named Oscar.*

*"Buonaparte had brought the poems, attributed to Ossian, into fashion, and the great qualities attributed to Oscar, by the Scottish bard, induced Bernadotte's choice. His greatest pleasure was to nurse this baby, hardly three months old."—*Sarazin's Philosopher.*

Whilst General Bernadotte was in the plenitude of domestic enjoyments, and devoted to the care of his wife and infant, the political affairs of France, again raised him from his state of inactivity.

Joseph and Lucien Buonaparte were constant visitors at the house of General Bernadotte, and on the arrival of Napoleon from Egypt, all his family met at General Bernadotte's mansion, to concert the steps which should be pursued. Whether the subject of this memoir was deceived or not by the professions, or in the designs of Napoleon, is to be determined by a review of the proceedings that took place during the years, 1799, and 1800.

It has been stated by a French officer*, who was in habits of intimacy with General Bernadotte, that three days before the 18th Brumaire, Buonaparte who had settled every thing with the Councils of Ancients and of Five Hundred, still lulled Bernadotte with the hope of taking him as a colleague with Sieyes or with Rogerducos; he particularly declared his firm resolution to maintain the republican form of government, and to give a marked preference to all those who had given proofs of attachment to the revolution.

The same officer asserts that General Bernadotte assured him, the following conversation took place on the 18th Brumaire, with Buonaparte.

Buonaparte.—"I can flatter myself at last, my dear Bernadotte, with having succeeded in making a part of the Directory, and the leaders of the two councils

* General Sarazin.

agree upon the measures to be taken to save the country. The council of ancients have nominated me Commander-in-chief of the 17th division, comprehending the guard of the Directory, and grenadiers of the Legislative Body. I have been obliged to make some alteration in my first plan, that I might not startle the civil party by the appearance of a government composed of military men. Sieyes will be second consul, and Rogerducos the third. As first consul, I preserve every means of suitably rewarding my fellow labourers, and of ameliorating in every respect, the situation of the army. You may easily guess, that my two colleagues are, properly speaking, only for form-sake, and that I am the real depositary of the supreme authority, which I assure you, I will only use to restore peace and prosperity to France. You may be persuaded of my eagerness to do every thing that may be personally agreeable to yourself, as well as to your friends. We are going to the Council of Ancients."

The reply of General Bernadotte, to this address, is reported by the same officer to have been, "This then, traitor, is the result of all your brilliant promises; you wish to destroy the republic, to establish yourself the tyrant of France. You shall not commit this horrible crime until you have deprived the country of one of its most intrepid defenders—be on your guard." Buonaparte on this opened the door of his saloon, in which were assembled more than fifty general and staff officers.*

I have the best authority in stating, that General

* The authenticity of this statement, rests upon the authority of General Sarazin, who, whatever may be his military talents, loyalty, fidelity, or his claims upon the British government, has certainly shown by his writings, that he possesses most extensive information on all the proceedings immediately prior and subsequent to the revolution.

Bernadotte totally disagreed in the proceedings of the 18th Brumaire: he informed Buonaparte that if the Directory should nominate him to fill any public post of importance, he should immediately exercise his power in opposing the schemes Buonaparte had communicated to him, but, that as an individual he perceived it would be fruitless, and he should therefore retire from Paris. The Directory actually nominated General Bernadotte military governour and commandant of Paris: but Buonaparte, sensible that he would carry his promise into effect, made every exertion and finally succeeded in having the appointment cancelled.

Notwithstanding the disapprobation General Bernadotte expressed at the first proceedings of Buonaparte and on the events of the 18th Brumaire, he very shortly afterwards accepted the high office of councillor of state,* and in March, 1800, the appointment of Commander-in-chief of La Vendee and of the coast of Bretagne. He was deprived of his offices by the detection of a plot in which his aid-de-camp Marbot, was concerned.

A number of proclamations against Buonaparte, were seized by the police in the possession of Marbot, who was imprisoned as well as his accomplices, and the military command and councillorship taken from General Bernadotte.

A reconciliation afterwards took place between the General and Buonaparte, and on the nomination of the latter Emperour of France, General Bernadotte

* Buonaparte was most fully acquainted with the great talents of General Bernadotte, and fearing that they might be converted to his overthrow, he had made every effort to conciliate him.

was one of the first who signed the document. He is also reported to have made the following address to Buonaparte on this occasion.

"I thought for a long time, Sire, that France would not be happy under any but a republican form of government. To the hearty persuasion of the excellence of this paradox, your majesty must attribute the conduct I have pursued for more than three years. Enlightened by happy experience, I feel much satisfaction in assuring you, that my illusions are entirely dissipated. I beg you to be persuaded of my eagerness to execute any measures that your majesty may prescribe for the good of the country. I moreover declare to you, as well as to all my friends here present, that I share the sentiments which General Murat has just delivered you in the name of the army, not politically and by word of mouth, but with heart and soul."

Buonaparte rewarded General Bernadotte for his support, by appointing him one of the Marshals of France, and gave him a command at Hanover. The latter he held till August, 1805, when he was directed by Buonaparte to march with 15,000 men to Wurtzburg, where he arrived on the 23d of September, having proceeded by the route of Gottingen and Frankfort, and was there joined by 10,000 Bavarians.

The combination of Austria and Russia, and the military preparations made throughout those empires, determined Buonaparte, who had for some time devoted himself to maturing his projects for an invasion of Great Britain, to march without delay his whole military force in order to disperse and destroy the combination, which he perceived was formed against him.

He immediately reinforced his army in Italy, dismantled his flotilla at Boulogne, and directed the principal of his troops in Holland and in Hanover, under General Bernadotte, to march by the most rapid movements, and the most direct routes to meet the Austrians, who were collecting on the Danube, and 60,000 men were decreed to be raised by conscription to recruit the armies.

Buonaparte now prepared to place himself at the head of his troops; but prior to his departure from Paris, he went, on the 23d of September, to the senate house, and caused to be read to that body an exposition of the comparative conduct of France and Austria, since the conclusion of the peace of Luneville.* Buonaparte's earnest desire to have preserved the peace of the continent, was in this document particularly dwelt upon, and it was concluded with a so-

* *The following Statement of the Losses sustained by the Continental Powers in consequence of the War, concluded by the Treaty of Peace at Luneville, February,* 1801, *is correct and deserving of notice.*

	Territory. German miles square.	Population.	Revenue, Florins.
Austria loses, including the Milanese, Modena, Tuscany, &c.	1060 1-2	3,629,455	9,314,135
The Princes of the Left Bank, 31 in number - - - - -	885	1,960,575	14,163,134
The 43 Counts, who had possessions on the Left Bank, - - - - -	75	182,630	1,391,922
The Abbayes and Chapters, which had separate domains, - - - -	42 1-2	109,500	1,254,500
The Equestrian Order	20 1-2	52,000	409,300
The Chapter of Cologne	1	2,500	16,800
The Imperial Cities, 5 in number - - - - - -	4	99,000	521,000
Holland, including her ancient Belgic possessions - - - - - - -	80	218,000	1,300,000
The Imperial Chamber of Wetzlaar - - - -			21,600
Total loss - - - - - - - -	2,168 1-2	6,253,690	28,392,391

lemn declaration, "that the Emperour of the French would never lay down his arms until he had attained full and entire satisfaction, and complete security as well for his own estates as for those of his allies."

The senate upon this passed a decree for raising 80,000 additional conscripts, and Buonaparte informed the senators "that he was about to place himself at the head of his army, in order to succour his allies. That the war had already commenced by the invasion of Bavaria, the Elector of which had actually been driven from his territories." He exhorted the French people to support their Emperour in the present unprovoked war, and concluded in the following words:

"Frenchmen, your Emperour will do his duty, my soldiers will do theirs, you will do yours."

Joseph Buonaparte was appointed to superintend the government, during the absence of his brother; the latter quitted Paris on the 24th of September, and on the 26th arrived at Strasburg.

1805.

The French army destined for the scene of action, consisted of six divisions, and was estimated at 140,000 men. The first corps, under Marshal Bernadotte, marched from Hanover, as already stated, the second corps, under General Marmont, proceeded from Holland to Mentz, and passed the Rhine at Cassel; Marshal Davoust, commanding the third corps, passed the Rhine at Manheim on the 26th September, and advanced by Heidelberg and Neckar-Eltz on the Neckar; Marshal Soult, commanding the fourth corps, passed the Rhine on the same day as Davoust, by a bridge thrown over it at Spires, and advanced towards Heilbrun, on the Neckar; the fifth corps, under Marshal Ney, likewise crossed the Rhine on the 26th, opposite Dunlach, by a flying bridge, and marched towards Stutgardt; and Marshal Lannes, with the sixth corps, passsd the Rhine, on the 25th at Kehl, and advanced towards Louisburg. The reserve of cavalry, under Murat, passed the Rhine at Kehl, and took up a position before the defiles of the Black Forest.* The park of artillery passed at the same place on the 30th, and advanced upon Heilbrun.

Buonaparte, with his staff and guards, crossed the Rhine at Kehl on the 29th, and on the following day reached Louisburg.†

* This was evidently with a view of making the Austrians believe the French army meant to take that route.

† It is necessary to enter thus minutely into the movements of each division of the French army throughout the campaign of 1805, in order to furnish the reader with a

Marshal Bernadotte and General Marmont formed a junction with the Bavarians at Wurtzburg on the 30th, and commenced their march to the Danube.—The rest of the divisions pursued the different routes to that river, and on the 4th of October, the French army was posted in the following manner:

Marshal Bernadotte and the Bavarians at Weissenberg; Davoust at Atlingen; Soult at Donawert; Ney at Kesingen; Lannes at Nereshein; and Murat on the borders of the Danube.

Marshal Bernadotte, on the 6th, reached Aichstetin; and on the 7th, took possession of Ingolstadt.—Hitherto nothing of importance had taken place: an action was fought on the 6th at Wirtengen between the cavalry, under Murat, and a considerable body of Austrians, and which terminated to the advantage of the former. The different corps had continued to advance, and on the 7th the troops were reviewed by Buonaparte, near Zusmershausen.

The next action was at Guntzburg, between Ney and a strong corps of Austrians who had advanced from Ulm: the latter were defeated, and obliged to retreat to Ulm.

In the mean time, Marshal Bernadotte, with the left wing of the French army, crossed the Danube at Ingolstadt, and took up a position at Pfufferhausen; whilst the main body of the French army proceeded to Augsburg.

distinct view of those particularly entrusted to Bernadotte. The Austrian army consisted of between 80 and 90,000 men, under the command of General Mack, and had advanced to the defiles of the Black Forest.

The French army being now placed between the Austrian forces, under General Mack, and Vienna, Marshal Bernadotte was directed to advance to the Inn, to make head against the Austrian and Russian reinforcements: the force under his orders, amounting to 40,000, he immediately put in motion, and on the 12th entered Munich, when he took 800 prisoners. Every thing rested upon the bold and rapid movements he should now make, and he therefore instantly crossed the Inn, and continued his march on the high road to Brannau, where the first Russian column had arrived, and joined the troops under General Keinmeyer, which had evacuated Bavaria, and fallen back upon that fortress. He fell in with some Austrian dedachments on the 15th at Wasserburg and Haag, and made some hundred prisoners. He next took up a strong position near the Inn, from which he could observe the combined army, and attack them to advantage, should they attempt a passage over that river.

Buonaparte, who, with the remainder of his army, had marched against General Mack, was, by the above able disposition of Marshal Bernadotte, enabled to direct his main strength against the Austrian General, and finally to surround him in Ulm, and cut off all communication with the Austrian states.

The right wing of the Austrian army, under the Archduke Ferdinand, was posted at Memmingen, against which the left wing of Buonaparte's army, under Marshal Soult, was detached.

On the 13th, Soult arrived before Memmingen, and the Archduke retreated to Biberach. Memmingen

having surrendered by capitulation,* to the French general, who, immediately afterwards advanced in pursuit of the Archduke, in the direction of Biberach.

The Archduke, however, having retired from Biberach towards Ulm, Marshal Soult directed his course towards Bregentz, with the design of intercepting that pass into the Tyrol. Thus the Archduke had no other medium than to attempt forcing his way through Franconia, to Bohemia, or to be comprised in the fate of General Mack's army.

He determined on the former, crossed the Danube, and advanced by Nordlingen and Nuremberg.

The French Generals Murat and Lannes vigorously pursued the Archduke, and overtook him at Nordlingen, where a division of 12,000 men, under General Werneck, were compelled to lay down their arms. The Archduke continued his retreat, and was again overtaken between Traun and Nuremberg, where he lost a considerable number of men in prisoners. Murat and Lannes here discontinued the pursuit, and the Archduke, with the remnant of his gallant corps, made good his retreat.

General Mack who was now completely shut up in Ulm, had no means of escape. The surrounding army was more than four times superiour in point of numbers to that under the Austrian General, and there existed no probability of his effecting an escape by attempting to open a passage through the French force.

* The most striking articles in the capitulation were, that the garrison, to the amount of many thousands, should be prisoners of war, and the officers released upon their parole, and suffered to retain their property, for the conveyance of which the French stipulated to provide carriages.

On the 15th, Buonaparte having made preparations for storming Ulm, issued an address to his troops, wherein he informed them, that "the following day would be an hundred times more celebrated than that of Marengo, but that merely to conquer the enemy, would be doing nothing worthy either of yourselves, or of your Emperour. Not a man should escape, and that government which had violated all its engagements, should first learn its catastrophe, by your arrival under the walls of Vienna."

After the above address, General Mack was summoned to surrender, with a threat in case of refusal, that Ulm should be instantly stormed. After a short deliberation General Mack agreed to surrender the city of Ulm, with all its artillery and magazines, and that the garrison, (consisting of about 30,000 men) after marching out with all the honours of war, should lay down their arms; the field officers to be allowed to return to Austria upon their parole, but the subalterns and soldiers to be sent prisoners into France, there to remain till exchanged.

By the 5th article of the capitulation, it was further stipulated, that "If, nevertheless, there should appear by noon of the 25th of October, an army, capable of raising the blockade of Ulm, the garrison of the fortress should, in that case, be released from the present capitulation, and at liberty to act as it may think fit."

Although this article was consented to by the French chief, he, impatient of the delay it would occasion, persuaded General Mack, in an interview which took place on the 19th, to sign an additional article, (on

the assurance of Marshal Berthier, that no succour could possibly arrive before Ulm) by which he agreed to evacuate the place, and surrender the army on the following day, the 20th, on the condition that the corps, commanded by Marshal Ney, should not advance beyond ten leagues from Ulm and its environs, before the 25th at midnight.*

After demolishing the fortifications of Ulm, and Memmingen. Buonaparte on the 21st set out for Augsburg, on his route to Bavaria, taking with him all his army, excepting the corps under Marshal Ney, and on the 24th he arrived at Munich.

The French chief now determined on advancing towards Vienna with the main body of his army, and on the 28th the centre effected a passage over the Inn, near Brannau.

In the mean time, Marshal Bernadotte, who had advanced by Wasserburg, proceeded on the 27th to Altinmarkt, and the Austrians and Russians finding their force inadequate to resist the passage of the Inn retired towards Vienna. And the remainder of the French army having passed that river Marshal Bernadotte was detached from the left of the army to the right, in order to occupy Saltzburg, so as to be in a situation to intercept the communication between the army under the Archduke Charles in the Venetian territory, and the Austro-Russians; a corps of 6000 Austrians retreated before the arrival of Marshal Bernadotte, in the direction of Wells.

* It is principally for consenting to this article, that the conduct of General Mack has been so generally reprobated, as it is very evident that nothing but the height of folly and imprudence, or villany, could have induced him to so disgraceful a step.

Marshal Bernadotte directed General Kellerman, commanding the advanced guard, to instantly pursue the retreating corps, and that officer came up with the Austrians at Pasling, and compelled them to retire with the loss of 900 men in prisoners.

By the movements of the subject of these memoirs, Buonaparte was enabled to rapidly advance towards the Austrian capital, and the allies took up a position behind the Ens.

Buonaparte made arrangements for attacking the allies in their present position, but his superiour strength, and the boldness and skill of his movements, determined the allies to retire towards Vienna.

At Amstettin a stand was made by the Russians, to retard the astonishing progress of the French: the former were, however, defeated, but not until they had occasioned a severe loss to the attacking force. After this affair, proposals were made by the Emperour of Austria for an armistice, as a preliminary step towards a negotiation for a general peace; and Buonaparte expressed his readiness to accede to the wishes of the Emperour, on condition that he would cause the allied troops to return home, the Hungarian levy to be disbanded, and a French army to occupy the duchy of Venice and the Tyrol. These demands were considered inadmissible by the Emperour.

In the mean while, military operations were actively continued.

On the 8th of November, Davoust had attacked General Meerfeldt near Meninzel, and defeated him

with great loss. Davoust, on the following day, pursued his route along the great road leading to Vienna, whilst Marshals Bernadotte and Marmont remained on the right, to observe the Austrian Commander-in-chief, the Archduke Charles, who was retreating before Massena.

On the 7th, the Emperour, with his court, had quitted his capital, and retired to Brunn, in Moravia. On the 11th, the advanced guard of the French army appeared before Vienna; and on the 14th, Buonaparte made his entry into that city.

The French army, after five successful actions, on the 10th and 11th advanced so rapidly into Moravia, that the Emperour was obliged to remove his court from Brunn to Olmutz.

Whilst these operations were carrying on, Marshal Bernadotte, who had made a circuit to the right of the French army, by Saltzburg and the confines of Hungary, passed the Danube to join the main French army.

Generals Murat and Lannes came up with the Russian army at Holbrunn on the 15th, when the Russians, finding themselves much pressed, had recourse to a stratagem,* which, however, was unsuccessful. The Baron Winzingerode, aid-de-camp to the Emperour of Russia, presented himself at the French advanced posts with a flag of truce, and demanded leave for the Russian army to capitulate, and separate from the

* The Russian general was justified in this step, by a similar device having been used by General Murat, who, after marching through Vienna, had found a corps of Austrians stationed at the bridge over the Danube, for the purpose of destroying it in case of necessity. Murat immediately rode up in full speed to the commanding officer. Prince Auersberg, and assured him on his word of honour, that an armistice had been concluded; and by this artifice he prevented the destruction of the bridge, which would have considerably retarded the advancement of the French into Moravia. J. P.

Austrians. Murat communicated the circumstance to Buonaparte, who, suspecting the stratagem, refused to agree to the terms, and ordered the troops to advance.

During the parley, the Russians had made preparations for retreat: they were, however, attacked at Guntersdorff, and compelled to give way, after losing 2000 prisoners and as many in killed and wounded.—The loss on the part of the French was not inconsiderable.

On the 17th, Buonaparte's head-quarters were at Znaim, and on the 20th at Brunn. He next advanced, and took up a position near Wiskau; between which place and Olmutz the Austro-Russians were posted: there the Russians received reinforcements, and a general and decisive action appeared to be determined on by both armies.

The state of the opposed armies was nearly equal in point of numbers: the French amounted to from 70 to 80,000 men; the Russians to 50,000, and the Austrians to 25,000. The French, however, were flushed with victory, full of confidence, and led on by skilful generals; whilst great licentiousness and relaxation prevailed in the force of the allies. To the latter circumstances, must be attributed the determination of the allies to risque a general and decisive battle.—The Russians were commanded by General Kutusoff, the Austrians by Prince John of Lichtenstein.

Marshal Bernadotte, whose corps had only joined a day or two before the main French army, and who, in order to rest his troops, remained in the rear, was di-

rected to take post near the village of Girschikowitz. Marshal Bernadotte's corps, composed of the divisions of Rivaux and Drouet, formed the centre of the French army.

The right of the French army was under Soult, and placed between Kobelnitz and Sokolnitz. The division of Le Grand, forming the extreme right, was posted between Kolnitz and Tellnitz, and occupied three villages with strong detachments of infantry.—Murat's cavalry was in the rear of Marshal Bernadotte, and on his left; and Lannes formed his left wing with the divisions of Suchet and Caffarelli: this last was connected with the left of Murat. The division of Vandamme was on the left, and that of St. Hilaire in the centre of Marshal Soult's corps. The reserve, composed of twenty battalions, the whole under Duroc, was near Turas.

On discovering the intention of the allies to risk a general battle, Buonaparte addressed his troops, stating that the Russian army, which they had beaten at Holbrunn, and who had been flying before them, were now in their front, to avenge the defeat of the Austrians at Ulm; that the French army occupied a formidable position, and that while the enemy marched to attack his right, they would expose their flank; and that he should himself direct all the battalions, and if victory became for a moment doubtful, that he should put himself in front of the battle; that this victory would finish the campaign, and that a peace would follow, worthy of his people, his army, and himself.

The action began on the 2d of December, soon after dawn of day, on the left wing of the allies: a corps,

under General Kienmeyer, posted in front of Aujut, was nearest the French, and destined to force the defile of Tellnitz, and to carry the village of that name as soon as possible, in order to open a passage for the first column, which had a great circuit to make before it could arrive at a point which would bring it in a line with the second column.

On a hill, in front of the last-mentioned village, some French infantry were posted; these General Kienmeyer first attacked, and after two repulses, he succeeded in gaining possession of it. The village was still defended by the French, and the action had continued for above half an hour, when the first Russian column aproached, and a force was immediately detached to the support of General Kienmeyer. The French also received a reinforcement from General Davoust, and a sudden fog coming on, the latter retook the hill beyond the village. After the fog, the allied troops moved forwards, and the French abandoned the village.

The allies having now passed the defile, and occupied the plain between Tellnitz and Turas, their next object was to form a communication with their second column; but this, and likewise the third column, had been checked by a part of the division under Le Grand, which occupied Sokolnitz, and in passing that village, some confusion in their movements occasioned them farther delay.

The want of concert and consistency in the movements of the Austro-Russian army was not lost sight of by the French chief, who perceiving, that by the circuitous route the left of the allies was obliged to

take, it became more distant from the centre, in proportion as it advanced, immediately determined on marching with his massy columns against the centre, and by that manœuvre he expected to cut off the left wing, which continued to advance for the purpose of turning the French army in a position it did not occupy.*

The reserve of the French army, during this operation, remained upon the heights between Schlapanitz and Kobelnitz, whilst Soult, with the two divisions of St. Hilaire and Vandamme, traversed the villages of Kobelnitz and Puntswitz, to attack the heights and the village of Pratzen.

Marshal Bernadotte, at the same time, after having crossed the rivulet at the village of Girschikowitz, with the division of Rivaud on his left, and that of Drouet on his right, took his direction on the heights of Blasowitz. On the left of Marshal Bernadotte, the cavalry under Murat formed in several lines, and marched between Girschikowitz and Krug; and Lannes, having the divisions of Suchet, and Caffarelli on his left and right, moved forward to the left of Murat.

* The imperfect knowledge the allies possessed of their enemy's position, although scarcely out of the range of the musketry, rendered the suppositions upon which their plan of attack was founded very indefinite. They imagined the French had weakened their centre to reinforce their left; the allies outflanked the right of the French By passing the defiles of Sokolnitz and Kobelnitz, it was supposed the right of the French would be turned, and that the attack might afterwards be continued in the plain between Schlapanitz and the wood of Turas, thus avoiding the defiles of Schlapanitz and Bellowitz, which it was believed covered the front of the French position. The plan was therefore to vigourously attack the right of the French army; to rapidly pass the valley between Tellnitz and Sokolnitz: the right of the allies on which was the cavalry of Prince John of Lichtenstein, and the advanced corps under Prince Bragation, was to cover this movement. The first of these generals, on the plain between Krug and Schlapanitz, on each side of the causeway, and occupied the heights, retreated between Dwaroschna and the Inn of Lesch, with his artillery.

From this period, the centre and right of the allies became engaged in all quarters: the Grand Duke Constantine was destined, with the Russian guards, to form the reserve of the right. At the appointed hour he quitted the heights in front of Austerlitz, to approach those of Blasowitz and Krug. On reaching them, he was attacked by the sharp-shooters of Rivaud's division, and Murat's light cavalry under General Kellerman. With every expedition, the Grand Duke Constantine marched to occupy Blasowitz with the light-infantry battalion of the guards. Prince John of Lichtenstein arrived at the same time with his cavalry, and detached ten squadrons for the protection of the left flank of Prince Bragation's division, which was opposed to part of Murat's cavalry.

Prince John found the Grand Duke in presence of General Kellerman's corps of cavalry, supported by the infantry of Marshal Bernadotte's left, and Marshal Lannes's right. It was determined to charge the French, and the movement was executed with intrepidity, but with too great precipitancy; for the French cavalry retiring through the intervals of their infantry, the Russian calvary pursued: but being thus placed between the fire of Caffarelli's division on their right, and that of Rivaud on their left, the Hulans lost about 400 men, and the Archduke's regiment, which had been the first to deploy, was put completely to the route: In this state it reached the corps under Bragation, who had now moved forwards from Pororsitz, to oppose Lannes's left, which rested on Kovalowitz; three battalions of Russian infantry occupied the villages of Krug and Holubitz.

The centre of the allied army, it will be observed,

had been very much weakened by the strong force detached to so great a distance on their left, with the intention of turning the right of the French, while the division on the right was not sufficiently strong to divide the French forces.

In the centre the Austro-Russians did not exceed 12,000 men, while the force Buonaparte had engaged to attack them, exceeded 24,000; and thus the centre of the allies was completely insulated.

According to the original plan, however, the allies had laid down, they advanced about eight o'clock, the Emperour Alexander having arrived at the head of the fourth column, commanded by General Kollowrath. Already, therefore, the action near Tellniz had began, and the left was in motion, when the centre formed, and broke into platoons from the left. These measures had hardly been taken, when a massive column of French infantry, composed of the divisions of Vandamme and St. Hilaire, was discovered in a bottom in front of Pratzen.

This movement of the French completely deceived the Russian Commander-in-chief, Kutusoff: he was taken by surprise, and thinking himself attacked in the midst of his combinations, felt all the importance of maintaining the heights of Pratzen, against which the French were moving. Kutusoff gave immediate orders for occupying the heights, and strengthened himself with four Russian regiments of cavalry from the column of Prince John.

In addition to Vandamme and St. Hilaire's corps, another body of French, part of Marshal Bernadotte's

corps, approached on the right of Pratzen, and threatened to pass through the interval, between the fourth column and the cavalry under Prince John; and the Russian infantry of the fourth column now marched to the right of Pratzen, and sent a reinforcement to the hill in front of that village, which was occupied by the advanced guard; but the latter was compelled to abandon its position, being attacked by superiour numbers.

The French continued to advance without firing a shot, although the Russians had opened their fire, until they came within a hundred paces of their enemy; a destructive fire was then commenced, after which they formed in several lines, and marched rapidly towards the height, resting their left on the church of the village, their right on the elevated points of the heights.

Having reached the heights, the French formed in an angular direction, for the purpose of opposing the rear of the third column, composed of the brigade under General Kaminskoy, and which had separated from the column, and shewed a front upon the heights, menacing the right flank of the corps under Soult.

As the fate of the battle rested upon the possession of the heights, every effort was made by the allies to dislodge the French. During this desparate affair, Alexander, who had remained with the fourth column, directed his battalions to advance, and endeavour to take the French in flank, while Kollowrath received orders to check the enemy on the left, and the brigades under Kaminskoy were reinforced by two regiments of Russians who had been left in reserve.

The allies, however, perceived, from the talent displayed by the French generals in all their movements, that nothing but a desperate attack at the point of the bayonet could turn the fate of the day. The Austrian brigades, with that under Kaminskoy accordingly charged; but they were received by the French with the utmost steadiness and a well-supported fire, which made a dreadful carnage. Other charges were attempted, but the ardour of the attack soon evaporated, and the French attacking the allies in their turn, resistance became of no avail: the allies were routed in this and every other direction. Various stands were made in different quarters, and the greatest courage exhibited by the Austrian cavalry; but the whole were finally obliged to retreat, and the French at night took up the position occupied by the allied army on the preceding evening, whilst the latter retired completely behind Austerlitz into the position of Holiegitz.

On both sides the loss in this grand and important battle was very great: the allied army was diminished more than a fourth part by killed, wounded, and prisoners; forty standards, and the greatest part of their artillery and baggage, were taken: and such was the number of wounded left upon the field, that they could not all be dressed until two days after the battle.

The French army advanced on the following day, and Marshals Bernadotte and Soult, with the imperial guards and the grenadiers of the reserve, were posted on the route towards Hungary.

In the mean time, Prince John of Lichtenstein had been sent on the night of the battle to Buonaparte, on the part of the Emperour of Austria, to propose an

armistice; in consequence of which, a meeting took place between the Emperour and Buonaparte, at which it was agreed that the French army should remain in possession of its conquests, viz. part of Moravia and Hungary, all Upper and Lower Austria, the Tyrol, the State of Vienna, Carinthia, Styria, Carniola, the country of Goritz and Istria; and lastly, in Bohemia, the circle of Montabar, with the whole space to the eastward, from Tabor to Lintz.

The above immense tract was to be held by the French army until the conclusion of a definitive peace, or the rupture of the negotiations; in the latter of which case, it was stipulated that hostilities should not recommence within fourteen days, and that the cessation of the armistice should then be announced to the plenipotentiaries of both powers, at the head of their respective armies.

It was further stipulated, that the Russian army should, within fifteen days, evacuate the Austrian States, Moravia and Hungary, and within a month Gallicia; and that the routes should be prescribed to the Russian army.

The Emperour Alexander indignantly refused to become a party to these humiliating conditions, and instantly (the 6th of December) directed his army to commence its retreat.

Prince John on the part of the Austrians, and M de Talleyrand on the part of France, were deputed to conclude the definitive treaty.

The following is Buonaparte's proclamation after the battle of Austerlitz:

"Soldiers!

"I am satisfied with you. In the battle of Austerlitz you have justified what I expected from your intrepidity. You have covered yourselves with eternal glory. An army of 100,000 men, which was commanded by the Emperours of Russia and Austria, has been, in less than four hours, either cut off, or dispersed; what escaped your swords, have thrown themselves into the lakes. Forty stand of colours, the standards of the Russian imperial guard, 120 pieces of cannon, twenty generals, and above 30,000 prisoners, are the fruits of this ever-memorable battle. That infantry, so celebrated, and so superiour to you in numbers, has proved unable to resist your charge; and henceforth you have no rivals to fear. Thus, in less than two months, the third coalition is conquered and dissolved. Peace cannot be at a great distance; but as I promised to my people before crossing the Rhine, I will conclude it only upon terms consistent with my pledge, and which shall secure, not only the indemnification, but the reward of my allies.

"Soldiers! When the French people placed the imperial crown upon my head, I trusted to you to enable me to maintain it in that high splendour of glory, which alone could give it value in my estimation: but at that moment our enemies entertained the design to tarnish and degrade it; and the iron crown, which was gained by the blood of so many Frenchmen, they would have compelled me to place on the head of my bitterest foe—an extravagant and foolish proposal, which you have brought to nought on the anniversary of your Emperour's coronation. You have taught them, that it is easier for them to defy and to threaten, than to subdue us.

"Soldiers! When every thing necessary to the security, the happiness, and prosperity of our country has been achieved, I will return you my thanks in France. Then will you be the objects of my tenderest care. My people will receive you with rapture and joy. To say to me, 'I was in the battle of Austerlitz,' will be enough to authorize the reply, 'That is a brave man.'

(Signed) "NAPOLEON.

"*Head-quarters, Austerlitz,*
"*December, 3, 1805.*"

Buonaparte, ever anxious to connect his family with the other princes of Europe, by which he expected to render his own power more secure and lasting, on the 5th of March, 1806, announced to the Senate, his intention of marrying the Princess Stephanie Beauharnois, niece of the Empress Josephine, to the hereditary Prince of Baden. On the 31st of the same month, he submitted to the Senate a variety of decrees for its approbation: by the first of which, he established various regulations for the education of the princes of his house; by the second he annexed the Venetian territories to the kingdom of Italy; by the third, he conferred the kingdom of Naples on his brother Joseph; by the fourth, he bestowed the duchies of Berg and Cleves, in full sovereignty, on his brother-in-law, Murat; and the principality of Guastalla on his sister Paulina and her husband, Prince Borghese; by the fifth, he gave to Marshal Berthier the principality of Neufchatel; by the sixth, he united to Lucca, the coun-

tries of Massa, Carrara, and Garragnana; and by the seventh, he created a number of duchies, with suitable revenues, in Italy, to be distributed among the civil and military officers who had distinguished themselves in his service, and to be held by them as property transmissible, by inheritance, to their direct descendants in the male line. The erection of the duchy of Benevento into a fief of the French empire in favour of Talleyrand, with the title of Prince and Duke of Benevento; and the grant of the duchy of Ponte Corvo to Marshal Bernadotte, by a similar tenure, followed some months after the preceding establishment: viz. on the 5th of June.

1806.

It will be observed by the foregoing accounts, that the battle of Austerlitz was the first at which Marshal Bernadotte, now prince of Ponte Corvo, held any important command. The adulatory address, delivered by General Bernadotte on the nomination of Buonaparte, Emperour of the French, acquired him from that period, the friendship and support of the latter. He was therefore entrusted, not only at the battle of Austerlitz, but also at subsequent operations, with a principal command of the French forces.

The Prussian government having determined upon war with France, Marshal Bernadotte received the command of one of the centre divisions of Buonaparte's army.*

The Duke of Brunswick was appointed generalissimo of the Prussian forces, and early in October, 1806, he established his head-quarters at Naumburg, where the principal magazines were collected, and extended his army to the country bordering on the Saale, in Upper Saxony. On the 4th of that month the head quarters were moved forward to Erfurt, and on the 10th to Weimar. The whole force under the duke, consisting of Prussians and Saxons, amounted to 150,000.

* To convey to the reader a correct view of the operations of Marshal Bernadotte's corps, it will be necessary to present a brief sketch of the campaign of 1806.

While this force remained in a state of inactivity, the French were collecting and concentrating their troops in the neighbourhood of Bamberg, where Buonaparte arrived on the 6th. On the 8th, the French were in motion to attack the Prussians. The position of the Prussian army in front was strong, but the Duke of Brunswick had neglected to protect his magazines at Hof, Zweckau, Wessenfels, and Naumburg, which were exposed to the attacks of the French, and which, when deprived of, would leave the Prussians without supplies.

The French advanced in three divisions. The centre commanded by the Grand Duke of Berg, the Prince of Ponte Corvo, (Marshal Bernadotte) and Marshal Davoust, marched from Bamberg to Cronach, and from thence to Saalburg and Schleitz. The right consisting of the corps under Marshals Ney and Soult, and of a division of Bavarians, set out from Amberg and Nuremberg, joined at Bayreuth, and from thence marched against Hof. The left composed of the corps of Marshals Lannes and Augereau, advanced from Schweinefurth upon Coburg, Graffenthal and Saalfeld.

The left wing of the Prussians, which stretched to a great distance from their centre, was by the above movements of the French, exposed to the whole of the attack of that army, and sensible of their danger, the Prussians at Hof, who were at the extremity of the line, and in the greatest danger of being cut off, fell back upon Schleitz before the arrival of Soult, leaving some men and the whole of the magazines behind them. Soult followed by Ney continued to advance, and on the 10th he arrived at Plauen, in Upper Saxony.

The centre of the French army passed the Saale at Saalburg, and on the 9th, advanced to Schleitz, where General Tauenzien was posted with 10,000 Prussians; a sharp action took place, in which the latter were worsted, and on the 11th the French arrived at Gera, within half a day's march of the principal Prussian magazines, at Naumburg.

The left of the French army on the 8th entered Cobourg, on the 9th Graffenthal, and on the 10th Lannes attacked and completely defeated at Saalfeld, the advanced guard of Prince Hohenlohe's division, commanded by Prince Lewis of Prussia, and who fell in the action.

These successes gave to the French the entire possession of the Prussian magazines, and also placed them between the Prussian army and the cities of Dresden and Berlin.

The French army now extended along the right bank of the Saale from Naumburg to Neustadt; their first line was composed of the corps of Davoust, at Naumburg; that of Lannes, at Jena; and that of Augereau at Kahla. The Grand Duke of Berg, commanded in the second line, between Zeitz and Leipzig; the Prince of Ponte Corvo, (Marshal Bernadotte) at Zeitz; Buonaparte and Soult at Jena; Marshal Ney at Neustadt.

The Duke of Brunswick perceived that owing to his unskilful movements, nothing now remained but to risk a general engagement; he therefore collected the whole of his forces into one point, between Auerstadt,

Weimar, and Jena, and arrangements were made for a battle, decisive of the fate of the campaign.

The heights of the Saale separated the two armies, and they seemed to afford an insuperable barrier to the French, but here another instance occurred of the incapacity of the generalissimo of the Prussian army, who satisfied with guarding the high road between Jena and Weimar, left unoccupied the most important passes of the Saale; these passes the French secured without loss of time, and transported cannon during the night of the 13th to defend them.

On the 14th at day break, the Prussians saw themselves attacked in their elevated position, which they had considered as an impregnable fortress: the whole of the French army was under arms, and the action commenced by the light troops of the centre opening a brisk fire, which drove the Prussians from their advanced positions, enabled the French line to extend itself on the plain, and draw up in order of battle.

Early in the morning, the left of the Prussian army, 50,000 strong, was dispatched towards Naumburg, to take possession of the defiles of Koesen, but these Davoust had already occupied, and although attacked eleven times successively, by the Prussians, he maintained his post.

The Prussian centre, 80,000 strong, was opposed to the French centre at Jena, but the Prussian right, 12,000 strong, did not come up till their centre was broken and thrown into disorder, and their rear guard was at Meinungen, thirty miles distant from the field of battle.

The action began by some French battalions, taking possession of a village from which the Prussians attempted to dislodge them. Whilst Marshal Lannes advanced to the support of these battalions, Soult moved to get possession of a wood upon his right, occupied by the Prussians. And a body of Prussians having made a movement upon the French left, Augereau marched against them. The action became general in less than an hour, and was contested with great spirit on both sides; the French charged in the most regular and determined manner, and the armies continued the engagement without any material success being acquired by either side, till Soult obtained possession of the wood, and pressed forward to support the centre. At the same time the French reserve advanced to the front line, which being thus strengthened, the Prussians were most vigorously attacked, thrown into disorder, and forced to retire.

The Prussians, however, rallied, renewed the contest, and maintained it for another hour, when, by the advance of the second French reserve, under the Duke of Berg, they were again thrown into confusion and completely routed.

In the mean time Davoust, after a combat of several hours, had forced the left of the Prussian army to fall back upon Weimar, where it arrived at the moment the broken corps which had reached that city, pursued by the French, were attempting to retreat in the direction of Naumburg. The confusion was thus manifoldly increased, and a precipitate flight ensued.

According to the French accounts, more than 20,000 Prussians were killed and wounded in the battle of

Jena and from 30 to 40,000 taken prisoners. The Duke of Brunswick and Lieutenant General Schmettaw were mortally wounded: above twenty generals and lieutenant generals made prisoners, and 300 pieces of cannon and sixty standards taken.

The loss of the French is stated in their official reports, at 1000 killed and 3000 wounded; none of their officers above the rank of brigadier-general were either killed or wounded.

Marshal Mollendorff and the Prince of Orange, Fulda, made good their retreat with a considerable Prussian corps to Erfurt. On the following day, the Duke of Berg invested that place, and the Prussians surrendered by capitulation. General Kalkreuth with another division of the Prussian troops, attempted to escape in a body over the Hertz mountains; he was overtaken at the village of Greusen, and defeated with loss.

The flight of the Prussians was principally directed to Magdeburg, and here Prince Hohenlohe having arrived, he, although wounded, collected from the fugitives, a considerable army.

Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, who was advancing from Custrin, with the Prussian reserve, instead of falling back when he received intelligence of the route of the Prussians at Jena, continued his march to Halle, where, on the 17th, the Prince of Ponte Corvo, (Marshal Bernadotte) warmly attacked, and after a sharp action, defeated him. Marshal Bernadotte, in this action, which destroyed the last entire corps of the Prussian army, took 5000 prisoners, and thirty-five pieces of cannon.

In their retreat, the Prussians burned the bridge at Dessau over the Elbe; but which Marshal Bernadotte quickly re-established. The Prussians also attempted to destroy the bridge at Wittenberg, but this was likewise prevented by the timely arrival of Marshal Bernadotte, with his corps in pursuit of the retreating enemy.

On the 24th Buonaparte arrived at Potsdam, on the 25th, Marshal Davoust's corps entered Berlin; on the following day, Augereau's corps; and on the 27th, Buonaparte made his public entry.

In the mean time Prince Hohenlohe with the Prussians collected at Magdeburg, amounting to 40,000 men, made an unsuccessful attempt to gain the banks of the Oder. After sending forward detachments of cavalry, to destroy the bridges, over which the French would have to pass, to interrupt his march, the prince set out for Stettin. On reaching Zehdenick on the Hevel, the advanced guard of his army, 6000 cavalry, was attacked by the Duke of Berg, with a body of light cavalry and dragoons, and the Prussians were defeated with loss. The Duke having no infantry to support his movements, after this affair pushed forward to Templin, which lay in the line of the Prince of Hohenlohe's march, in order to stop his progress until their infantry should come up.

The Prince, however, made a detour through Furstenberg, and thus avoiding Templin, he reached Boitzenberg without fighting. Near the latter place, an action was engaged, in which the Prussians were again unsuccessful. It became now necessary to effect a second detour by Schoenermark, in order to reach

Prentzlau; but the Prussians had no sooner reached the heights of the latter place, than they were attacked and forced to a precipitate retreat. The distresses of this gallant Prince's corps were now so great, the men being without bread and almost without ammunition, and the horses without forage, he was forced on the 28th, to accept the terms of capitulation offered to him, and surrender the whole force under his command, amounting to 17,000 men; and on the following day, 6000 men belonging to his army, which had pushed forward by another route to Passewalk, was also forced to surrender.

General Blucher, (celebrated by his grand and skilful operations during the present eventful continental campaign,) at this time commanded the rear, 10,500 strong, of Prince Hohenlohe's army: he had reached Boitzenberg, and on the morning of the 29th, whilst preparing to set out for Prenzlau, intelligence arrived of the surrender of the main body. General Blucher resolved instantly to change his route, and direct his course towards Strelitz, in the hope of meeting with a corps, commanded by the Duke of Weimar, and on the 30th he effected a junction, near that place. The Duke's corps, 10,000 strong, which after passing the Elbe at Havelberg, had reached Strelitz, by Rhinsberg, and after falling in with a third corps, under the Duke of Brunswick Oels. Scarcely was this junction effected, when General Blucher received intelligence that Marshal Soult had also crossed the Elbe, and was between him and that river.

In consequence of this, General Blucher, with the three corps under his command, resolved on attempting to pass the Elbe at Lauenburg; and on the 3d of

November, he reached the lake of Schwerin, after several sharp actions, and being constantly harassed by the French.

The Prince of Ponte Corvo, (Marshal Bernadotte) pressed upon the Duke's rear: Soult on his left intercepted his communication with the Elbe, and prevented his crossing at Lauenberg; and the Duke of Berg advancing on his right, along the skirts of Swedish Pomerania prevented him from gaining the walls of Stralsund. In this critical situation, General Blucher had no other alternative than to throw himself into Lubeck, the gates of which were immediately afterwards forced, and an engagement ensued in the squares and streets.* After experiencing a severe loss, General Blucher was again forced to retreat, and on reaching the frontiers of Danish Holstein, he was obliged to surrender.

The principle garrisons of the Prussian fortified places, although many of them were supplied with the means of defence, after this event opened their gates to the French; Spandau, Stettin, Custrin, Magdeburg, and Hameln surrendered by capitulation.

In the meanwhile Louis Buonaparte with an inconsiderable army, overran the Prussian provinces of Westphalia, and penetrated into the electorate of Hanover. General Dendaels took possession of Emden

* *Buonaparte's order of the day after the affair at Lubeck.*

Berlin, 9th November, 1806.

"The Emperour signifies his satisfaction to the Grand Duke of Berg, to the Prince Ponte Corvo (Marshal Bernadotte) to Marshal Soult, and to the troops under their command, at their brilliant conduct at Lubéck, and for the activity they evinced in pursuing the enemy."

and East Friezeland; and the Prussian fortresses in Germany to the west of the Oder, fell into the hands of the French.

The Elector of Hesse was expelled from his dominions by Marshal Mortier: the Duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin was exposed to a similar fate, and also the Duke of Brunswick. On the 19th of November, Mortier entered Hamburg, and on the following day, all English produce and manufactures in that city, were sequestrated.

On the 22d of October, a plenipotentiary, Lucchesina, from the King of Prussia arrived at the French head-quarters, to negotiate peace. After some delay, Buonaparte declared that he would never quit Berlin nor evacuate Poland, till Moldavia and Wallachia were yielded by the Prussians in complete sovereignty to the Porte, and till a general peace was concluded on the basis of the restitution of all the Spanish, French, and Dutch colonies, and possessions taken by Great Britain during the war.

This declaration put an end to all expectations of peace. An armistice was, however, proposed by Buonaparte and consented to by the Prussian plenipotentiary; but its terms were so disadvantageous to the Prussian monarch, that he refused to ratify the same.

Early in November two French corps crossed the Oder: the one under Davoust on the 10th entered Posen; the other, under Jerome Buonaparte, undertook the conquest of Silesia; and after a formal resistance, Great Glogaw and Breslau surrendered to his arms.

Some Russian corps, under General Benningsen were now advancing to assist the Prussians, and having reached Warsaw, a detachment was sent forward to Lowiez to defend the passage of the Bzura; but on the 27th this detachment was attacked and driven back. The Russian commander, in the mean time, received intelligence of the strength of the enemy marching against him; in consequence of which he abandoned Warsaw, repassed the Vistula, and continued his retreat beyond the Narew. On the 28th the French entered Warsaw; they immediately re-established the bridge over the Vistula, which the Russians had destroyed in their retreat, and Ney having also established a bridge at Thorn, and Augereau at Zakroczym, the advance of the French was facilitated, and its retreat, if necessary secured.

Benningsen having formed a junction with the second division of the Russian army, under Buxhoevden, behind the Narew, and the Commander-in-chief. Kamenskoy, having arrived with further reinforcements, the Russians again advanced and fixing their head-quarters at Pultusk, threatened to drive the French over the Vistula.

In the night, however, a small French detachment having passed over the Narew, entrenched itself so strongly that the Russians could not dislodge it, and a fortified bridge having been constructed, the whole French army moved forward to bring the united armies to a general engagement.

Buonaparte left Berlin on the 25th of November, remained at Posen till the 16th of December; reached

Warsaw on the 18th: on the 23d was at the head of his army and crossed the Narew.

The right of the French army, consisting of the divisions of Lannes, Davoust, and the Grand Duke of Berg, and commanded by Buonaparte in person, having crossed the Narew, was opposed to the left flank of the Russians. To the left of this division was the corps of Augereau, at Zakroczym on the Vistula, and at a still greater distance, the corps of Soult, which had crossed at Polock.

The left of the French, consisting of the divisions of the Prince of Ponte Corvo, (Marshal Bernadotte) Ney, and Bessieres, after having advanced from Thorn to Golub, and from thence to Sierpsk, was directed to attack General Lestocq, commanding a body of Prussians, and by a rapid movement to cut off his communication with the Russians. Two actions took place, on the 23d and 26th of December, in which the French were successful.

On the night of the 23d the operations of the French right began, by an attack on the village of Czarnowo on the Narew, where the Russians were in great strength. They were, however, dislodged, and their batteries carried. On the 24th Kamenskoy was driven from his entrenchments at Nasielk; and the same day Augereau passed the Wkra at Kurscomb, and defeated 15,000 men who disputed the passage of that river.

General Kamenskoy, in consequence of his position behind the Wkra being forced, resolved that the Russian army should retire behind the Niemen, and gave

directions to that effect to Buxhoevden and Benningsen. The latter considering himself authorized to use his own discretion, preferred to give battle at Pultusk. On the 26th he was attacked at the latter place, and General Buxhoevden at Golomyn. Both made an obstinate resistance, but both were obliged to retreat,* and after this action the French went into cantonments on the banks of the river Orzyk, and Buonaparte returned to Warsaw.

* General Benningsen addressed an account of this battle to the Emperour, in which he claims the victory.—Buonaparte also claimed the victory, and stated the loss of the Russians at 12,000, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, whilst that of the French army did not exceed 2800. It is observed by a political writer, "that the confidence with which General Benningsen's accounts were circulated, and the minute detail of circumstances with which they were accompanied, imposed for a time on the most sceptical and desponding," &c.—*Vide Annual Register*, 1806.

Sir Robert Wilson, in his Sketch of the Campaigns of 1806 and 1807, states the loss of the Russians to have been less than 5000, and that the French, at the most moderate computation, had 8000 killed and wounded, and that the French were severely beaten.—He observes also, that if the other generals had co-operated, "the action at Pultusk might have decided the campaign; for the entire annihilation of the enemy opposed would have been then certain."

I have given these opposite statements that the reader may form his own judgment, if it is possible to have one, when accounts are so much at variance. That the Russians, however, were obliged to retreat is admitted on both sides. J. P.

1807.

After the battle of Pultusk the chief command of the Russian army was entrusted to General Benningsen, who had formed a junction with General Buxhoevden. Their force was 70,000 strong, with 500 cannon.

Buonaparte perceiving that the intention of the Russians was to give him no rest in his winter-quarters, determined to become the assailant.

The Prince of Ponte Corvo's (Marshal Bernadotte) corps was stationed at Elbing, where there were immense magazines filled with all manner of stores and provisions, and it occupied the country around on the shores of the Baltic.

Marshal Bernadotte's corps, which was to be supported by that under Ney, posted on the right banks of the Alla, was ordered to surprise Koningsberg, with its valuable magazines; which was attempted. But by the rapid advance of the Russians under Counts Pahlen and Galitzin, Marshal Bernadotte and Ney were both discomfitted in the outset of their enterprize.

On the 24th of January, Ney was obliged to abandon his posts on the Alla, and to retire by Allenstein behind the Dribentz, where he joined the corps under Murat.

Marshal Bernadotte now retired from Elbing by Preuss Holland to Mohringen, where he established his head-quarters, pushing his out-posts to the distance of a league from the town, on the road to Liebstadt.

General Benningsen, on learning these movements, determined to march against Marshal Bernadotte.—On the 24th he reached Arensdorf, and on the 25th Leibstadt; but on the same day the Russian General Markow, with a division of the corps under the command of the Counts Pahlen and Galitzen, commenced upon the village of Georgenthal, ten English miles in front of Mohringen, on a very formidable position occupied by the whole corps of the French, and finally supported by General Dupont's division.

After a very sharp action, in which the eagle of the 9th French regiment of infantry was taken, the Russians were repulsed, but being afterwards reinforced by a division of cavalry under General D'Aurep, the battle was renewed, the French driven back, and the Russians recovered the original ground.

During the action, Prince Michael Dolgorucky, with his regiment of dragoons, went round to the rear of the French, made his way to head-quarters without being perceived, and carried off Marshal Bernadotte's equipage,* his plate, and some ladies.

* "In General Bernadotte's baggage, the money levied on the town of Elbing for his own private use, 10,000 ducats, exclusive of 2,500 for his staff, was recovered; and there were found to a great amount, various pieces of plate, candlesticks, &c. bearing the arms of almost all the states of Germany. The Marshal's servant was so ashamed of this plunder, that he would not claim it when purposely desired to point out his master's property; but as the articles were taken in the Marshal's own quarter, and in his trunks, and were in such quantity, they must have been there with his knowledge."—*Vide Sir Robert Wilson's Sketch of the Campaigns in Poland.*

General Sarazin, in his "Philosopher," makes the following observation on this circumstance:—

"It was published in a very estimable work, that there were found among his effects,

Buonaparte, in his fifty-fifth bulletin, dated Warsaw, January 29, 1807, gives the following account of the battle of Mohringen:

"The details of the battle of Mohringen are as follows:—The Marshal, Prince of Ponte Corvo (Bernadotte) arrived at Mohringen, with the division of Drouet on the 25th, at eleven in the morning, at the very moment when the general of brigade Pactod was attacked by the enemy. The Marshal, Prince of Ponte Corvo, ordered an immediate attack of the village of Pfarresfeldeben, by a battalion of the 9th of light infantry. This village was defended by three Russian battalions which were supported by three others. The Prince of Ponte Corvo caused also two other battalions to march to support that of the 9th. The action was very sharp; the eagle of the 9th regiment of light infantry was taken by the enemy; but

several pieces of plate, with the arms of the German Princes; and, it was even said, that his servant was so ashamed of this pillage, that he dared not say it was the property of the General. The particulars of the anecdote suffice to prove its inconsisteney. Where is the servant who would blush to claim what his master was not ashamed of preserving for his own use? At this period Bernadotte had a considerable fortune, and Buonaparte anticipated all his desires in money. How could he have decided for some silver forks and candlesticks, to risk a rupture with Buonaparte, who, from the beginning of the campaign in 1805, had, in the most peremptory manner, prohibited any individual in the army, from the marshal to the drummer, to raise the smallest contribution? Besides, Bernadotte has always been so zealous in supporting the interests of the inhabitants, that there is not the least probability that these things, pretended to have been his, were so in reality: it is far more probable that the Cossacks, under pretence of taking Bernadotte's baggage, had seized the plate belonging to the castle in which this general was quartered. The unequivocal proofs of delicacy and probity which General Bernadotte has given throughout the whole of his military career, leave no doubt of his entire innocence in this respect. As to what he received from the Commander-in-chief, under the title of encouragement, we will call to mind what Marshal Villars wrote to Louis the Fourteenth, who had remarked to him, that his exactions were complained of: "The first part, sire," said the conquerour of Denain, is for your majesty's treasury, and serves to pay the troops; the second is to assist my officers who are in want, and the third is to *fatten my veaux*." It was the name of a very fine estate belonging to the Marshal; the pronunciation of which was the same as *veau*, (calf,) which made the pun upon the words. The august monarch, who knew that *war must be maintained by war*, laughed heartily at his general's pun, and approved of it by saying no more on the subject."

on the aspect of the affront with which this brave regiment was on the point of being covered for ever, and from which, neither victory, nor the glory acquired in an hundred combats, would have purified it, the soldiers, animated with an inconsiderable ardour, precipitated themselves on the enemy, whom they routed, and recovered their eagle. In the meanwhile the French line, composed of the 8th of the line, of the 27th of light infantry, and of the 94th, were formed, and attacked the Russian line, which had taken its position upon a rising ground. The fire of the musketry was very brisk, and at point blank distance. At this moment General Dupont appeared on the road, with the 32d and 96th regiments. He turned the right wing of the enemy. A battalion of the 32d rushed upon the enemy with its usual impetuosity, put them to flight, killing several of them. The only prisoners they made were those who were in the houses. The Russians were pursued for two leagues, and were it not for the coming on of night, the pursuit would have been continued. Counts Pahlen and Galitzen commanded the Russians. They left 1200 dead on the field of battle, and lost 300 prisoners and several howitzers. Laplanche, general of brigade, distinguished himself. The 19th dragoons made a fine charge against the Russian infantry. It is not only the good conduct of the soldiers, and the talents of the general, which are most worthy of remark, but the expedition with which the troops broke up from their cantonments, and performed a march which would be reckoned extraordinary for any other troops, without a man being missing in the field of battle. It is this which eminently distinguishes soldiers who have no other impulse but that of honour."

Notwithstanding the bulletin of the French chief, there is not a doubt that the French received a check at the battle of Mohringen; and the design of surprising Koningsberg by a combined movement of the Marshals Bernadotte and Ney was frustrated. The retreat of the two latter officers enabled Benningsen to concentrate his forces in the town and environs of Mohringen, whilst the right of his army rested on the Vistula, between Elbing and Culm.

On the 29th and 30th Buonaparte broke up his cantonments. He perceived the corps under General Von Essen, that covered the left flank of the Russian army, was posted at too great a distance from its main body to answer the purpose for which it was intended; and therefore directed General Savary's corps to watch his movements, whilst another corps under Le Febre, at Thorn, kept in check the allies at Culm and Marienwerder, thus to secure for Buonaparte a safe retreat across the Vistula, in case of a failure in his attempt on the main body of the Russian army.

The sanguinary battle of Eylau* followed, the success of which was claimed by both sides. The French, however, remained seven or eight days on the field of battle, and buried the Russian dead.

After the battle of Eylau the French army was concentrated in cantonments behind, that is, to the west-

* A particular narration of this battle is rendered unnecessary, and would be foreign to these memoirs, the corps under Marshal Bernadotte not having been engaged therein. The Marshal was stationed at Strasburg. Sir Robert Wilson, in his Sketches, states that "Marshal Bernadotte was expected, but that he did not arrive till two days afterwards."

ward of the Passarge.* The Prince of Ponte Corvo, (Marshal Bernadotte) with his corps, lay at Prussian Holland, and Braunsberg; Marshal Soult at Leibstadt and Mohringen; Ney at Gutstadt; Davoust at Allenstien, Hohenstien, and Deppen; and Le Febvre before Dantzig.

On the 26th of February a Russian detachment marched against Braunsberg, the most advanced of the French cantonments. The Prince of Ponte Corvo immediately detached General Dupont to attack the enemy. The Russians were repulsed with great loss, and driven across the Passarge.

The siege of Dantzig was the point to which universal attention was next directed. On the night between the 2d and 3d April trenches were opened before it, and although its relief was attempted by a maritime expedition, it capitulated on the 19th of May.

On the 5th of June the grand French army was attacked by the allies at different points of its line. On the right of the allies and left of the French, twelve Russian and Prussian regiments, forming two divisions, attacked the *tête du pont* of Spanden on the Passarge, which was defended by a regiment of light infantry strongly covered by entrenchments and redoubts. They were repulsed seven times, and as often renewed the attack. But immediately after the last assault they were charged by a regiment of dragoons, that had come up to the assistance of the regi-

* A small river which, passing by the town of Braunsberg, discharges itself, a little below that place, into the Frisch-haaf.

ment of infantry, and forced to abandon the field of battle with a great loss in killed and wounded.

Whilst inspecting the batteries at the head of the bridge of Spanden, Marshal Bernadotte received a wound, which, though slight, obliged him to quit the army for the remainder of the campaign, and the command of his corps was transferred to Victor.

When Buonaparte was preparing the way for the usurpation of Spain, the first step towards the accomplishment of his design was to remove its best troops, and accordingly in conformity to treaty, 16,000 men, under the Marquis de Romana, were marched to Denmark. Marshal Bernadotte was at the same time sent with his troops to the latter kingdom.

No sooner, however, did Spain rise in arms against Buonaparte, than the British government directed its attention to those Spanish troops who were now stationed in the Danish islands. The British government were fully acquainted with the patriotic spirit of those troops. An oath of allegiance to Joseph Buonaparte had been proposed to them, but, far as they were from Spain, with no probability scarcely of the hope of returning to it—ignorant of the spirit which had manifested itself there, and surrounded by French and Danish troops, who were equally hostile to the Spanish patriots, they planted their colours, formed a circle round them, and then swore on their knees to be faithful to their country.

The task of bringing off these patriots was entrusted to Admiral Keats: the main body of these troops were with the Commander-in-chief upon the island of Funen; some were in Jutland, some in Zealand, and a smaller body in Langland. The admiral proposed that those in Funen should secure themselves in a peninsula on the north side of the island, from which, if necessary, they might be removed to the small island of Romsol. The Danish gun-boats could be rendered inactive, if the Spanish General had it in his power, and should think it proper, to seize on the town and port of Nyborg; but this measure the admiral conceived might endanger the safety of the troops in Zealand and Jutland, by inducing the Danes to act hostilely when they might otherwise be disposed to permit the quiet removal of the Spaniards. Little hope was indulged that any negotiation for their peaceable departure would be successful; but immediately after the movements should have commenced, a declaration of the peaceable and unoffending object in view, might then be advantageous. The troops in Zealand, it was proposed, should attempt to force their way to the peninsula near Corsoer, where it seemed likely that they might be able to defend the isthmus till they could be removed to the neighbouring island of Sproe. Those at Frederisca, in Jutland, were to seize vessels and endeavour to unite with their countrymen at Funen; but, if the troops in Langland were strong enough to feel themselves in safety, it was deemed better to send all the others there, from whence they might be transported at leisure.

The suspicions of the French officers and the Danish government were, however, awakened, and a premature execution of the plan becoming necessary,

Romana took posesssion of Nyborg; whereupon the British admiral dispatched a letter to the governour, informing him, that notwithstanding the state of war between England and Denmark, it was his wish to abstain from every hostile act, provided the embarkation of the Spaniards was not opposed. While this was going on he must necessarily co-operate with those troops, and consequently, often communicate with the town of Nyborg; but the strictest orders had been given to all, to observe the utmost civility towards the inhabitants. If, however, the Spaniards were opposed, he must take measures that might occasion the destruction of the town. The Danish garrison had yielded to circumstances; but an armed brig and cutter which were moored across the harbour, rejected all the pacific offers. Such small boats as could be collected were sent against them, and they were taken. The admiral now addressed a second letter to the Governour, acquainting him that as his entrance into the harbour had been opposed, he was not bound to respect the property of the inhabitants. The Spanish General had occasion for some of the small craft in the port; unless the masters and crews would assist in navigating them, it might not be in his power to secure them from injury; if they would, he pledged himself, after the short service for which they were required was ended, not only to secure them from injury by every means in his power, but also to grant them passports to return in safety. The artillery, baggage, stores, &c. were accordingly embarked with the troops, and landed upon Langland; and a convention was made between Romana and the Governour of that island, in which the latter agreed to supply the Spaniards with provisions, they on their part abstaining from hostilities. Above a thousand troops from Jutland

effected their escape in the manner proposed, and joined their countrymen while at sea. Another thousand had got to Langland. One regiment in Jutland was too distant and too unfavourably situated to escape, and two in Zealand, after having fired on the French general who commanded them, were overpowered and disarmed.*

On the Spaniards thus succeeding, through the efforts of the English, in embarking for Spain, Buonaparte accused Marshal Bernadotte of great negligence. He, however, shortly after readily availed himself of the military talents of Marshal Bernadotte, by employing him in the campaign of 1809.

When the Archduke Charles, on the 6th of April, 1809, declared, on the part of Austria, war against France, in the form of a proclamation, glowing with sentiments the most fitted to rouse indignation against the French, and awaken all their love for their own country, the Prince of Ponte Corvo, Marshal Bernadotte, was appointed to command the Saxon army.

Having proceeded from Dresden, through Nuremberg, for Ratisbon, he so ably manœuvred, as to completely deceive General Bellegarde. The latter officer had under his command a very considerable corps, and which was intended to co-operate with the Archduke's

* The remnants of Romana's army, who had it not in their power to escape with their brave countrymen, were confined to garrison duty, and afterwards sent to Flushing, as being out of the way.

army; but, from the dispositions of Marshal Bernadotte with his light troops, by which he threatened an invasion of Bohemia, General Beliegarde was completely kept in check, and obliged, with his corps, to remain in a state ready to defend the frontiers of that kingdom.

At the attack on Wagram,* in the night between the 5th and 6th of July, a great confusion took place in the division under the orders of Marshal Bernadotte: for a considerable time his columns fired upon each other by mistake, and occasioned much slaughter; and Buonaparte severely censured the subject of this memoir for his conduct on that occasion; in consequence of which, he retired to France, under the pretext of re-establishing his health.

The next and last military employ given to the Prince of Ponte Corvo by the Ruler of the French nation, was that of commanding the French army at Antwerp after the landing of the British at Walcheren; but in consequence of a proclamation published by the

* The most correct account of the battle of Wagram is given in the Royal Military Panorama, Vol. I. p. 413. It is drawn up by an eye-witness, and edited by an Austrian staff officer. This important paper should be read by all military men. The battle of Wagram, in its result, had a powerful influence on the continental policy of Europe, and a narrative of the real circumstances attending that great event, and what part of them is to be ascribed to genius, talent, and profound military calculation, or what part in consequence of weakness and mere accident, must be of general interest to the British army. It is only by knowing the real circumstances attending great events, that we can form an accurate opinion in regard to the conduct of those concerned in them, or deduce therefrom any practical results, which may prove of general benefit to mankind. The editor of this narrative appears not only to have possessed sufficient ability, but a desire to be a just and accurate observer of the events to which he was an eye-witness. Blinded neither by hatred nor prejudice, he has been able to see events which might otherwise have escaped his notice. The clearness of his views, and the air of impartiality which pervades the whole narrative, will afford sufficient proof to those who are competent judges, that he was well qualified for the office he has undertaken.

Marshal on the departure of the Earl of Chatham for this country, wherein he claimed to himself great merit for the manner in which he had disposed the forces entrusted to his orders; and at the same time obliquely hinted, that Buonaparte had overlooked many points to which he should have most particularly attended, in regard to the defence of the banks of the Scheldt, Marshal Bernadotte was recalled, and the command of the Antwerp army given to Marshal Bessieres.

After the murder of Charles Augustus Augustenburg, Crown Prince of Sweden,* the States of Sweden assembled at Orebro, for the purpose of electing a successor to the King on the throne.

Four candidates offered themselves for this high honour—the eldest son of Gustavus IV.; the Prince of Holstein, eldest brother of the Prince of Augustenburg; the King of Denmark; and the Prince of Ponte Corvo, Marshal Bernadotte.

To conciliate the favour of the Swedes, the King of Denmark promised, in case of his becoming the successful candidate, to quit Copenhagen, and reside at Stockholm.

Marshal Bernadotte was regarded as the candidate favoured by Buonaparte,† who addressed a letter to

* June 20, 1810.

† Buonaparte, however, instead of favouring Marshal Bernadotte, secretly encouraged the King of Denmark to solicit the succession; although the Ruler of France must

the King of Sweden, condoling the Swedes for the loss which they had sustained, and declaring that nothing could be more grateful to him, than to see them once again in their former happy and flourishing state. Buonaparte observed, that it was his wish, as the Swedish people had regained their freedom and independence under so magnanimous a prince as Charles XIII. they might retain that which alone could restore them to their former rank in history, by choosing a man of like sentiments and fortitude: he, however, would not interfere in the election, especially as the enlightened members of the Diet must be the best judges.

On the 18th of August, with the advice of his council, the King of Sweden proposed to the States, Marshal Bernadotte as a successor to the crown. His Majesty remarked, "He perceived with pleasure that the voice of his people, equally aware of the necessity speedily to choose a successor to the Swedish throne, loudly and unanimously declared in favour of the Prince of Ponte Corvo.

"Brilliant exploits have illustrated his name as a warrior, at the same time that eminent talents mark him one of the most skilful statesmen of our age. Universally admired for the probity of his character, and the mildness of his temper, he found opportunities, even in the midst of the misfortunes of war, to shew his attachment to the Swedish nation, by the kind and friendly manner, in which he treated the Swedish officers and soldiers whom the chance of war subjected to his power. All these circumstances and considera-

have been sensible that the Swedes would be disgusted with the very idea of being governed by a Dane, and consequently that the king could not succeed. Bernadotte therefore was under no tie to Buonaparte, who was no otherwise consulted by the Swedish government than to obtain his consent.

tions could not but fix his majesty's attention, and determine his resolution, when the question was, to propose a successour to the Swedish throne. Yet his majesty has not failed to take on this important question the sense of the States of the empire; and at the secret committee of the council of state, a large majority of the former, and the unanimous opinions of the latter, perfectly coincided with his sentiments on this point.

"His majesty thinks, that by confiding the future destinies of Sweden to the Prince of Ponte Corvo, his well earned military fame, while on the one hand it secures the independence of the State, will on the other hand render it superfluous for him to engage in fresh wars; that his strong mind, tutored by long experience, will maintain national tranquility and order, and secure to our faithful subjects a long and undisturbed enjoyment of the blessings of peace; and lastly, that his son will remove in future times that uncertainty of succession to the throne, which some late lamentable events have rendered still more important to this country. From all these considerations, his majesty feels obliged to propose to the assembled States of the empire his Serene Highness Jean Baptiste Julien Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, as Crown Prince of Sweden, and his majesty's successour to the throne of Sweden."

The reply of the States-general of Sweden was, "That judging it their duty to prevent and avert the danger to the independence and tranquility of the kingdom, as well as to the rights and privileges of the inhabitants, which might result from a vacancy of the throne, and a consequent election; exercising moreover the power renewed to them by the constitution of

the last year, of electing, in such case, a new dynasty, and considering that the high and mighty Prince and Lord, Jean Baptiste Julien Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, was endowed with virtues and qualities, which gave them a well-founded hope of enjoying, under his reign, the fruits of a legal, energetic, and beneficent government, voluntarily elected him by a free and unanimous suffrage for themselves and their descendants; under condition, however, that before his arrival on the Swedish territory, he should embrace the evangelical Lutheran religion, and sign the conditions which they should draw up."

Act of Election of the Prince of Ponte Corvo, Marshal Bernadotte, to be Crown Prince of Sweden.

STOCKHOLM, Sept. 1, 1810.

"We the undersigned, States-general of the kingdom of Sweden, counts, barons, bishops, representatives of the nobility, clergy, burghers, and peasants, assembled in the extraordinary Diet at Orebro, make known, that his Royal Highness Prince Charles Augustus, of Schleswig Holstein Augustenburg, elected Prince Royal of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, being deceased without heirs male, and judging that it is our duty to prevent and to avert the danger to the independence and tranquility of the kingdom, as well as the rights and privileges of its inhabitants, which might result from a vacancy of the throne, and a consequent election; exercising at the same time, the power which is reserved to us by the ninety-fourth article of the constitution of the sixth of June, 1809, of electing in such case a new dynasty;—for these reasons, and considering that the high and mighty Prince and Lord, Jean Baptiste Julien Bernadotte,

Prince of Ponte Corvo, is endowed with virtues and qualities, which give us the well-founded hope of enjoying, under the reign of that prince, a good administration and prosperity, the fruits of a legal, energetic, and beneficent government: we, the States-general of Sweden, upon the proposition of our august king now reigning, under condition that the said Prince and Lord, the Prince of Ponte Corvo, have before his arrival on the Swedish territory, embraced the evangelical Lutheran religion, and signed the conditions drawn up by us, have voluntarily elected by free and unanimous suffrage, for ourselves and our descendants, the high and mighty Prince Jean Baptiste Julien Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, to the dignity of Prince Royal of Sweden, to reign in Sweden and its dependencies after the decease of our present august sovereign, (whose days may the Almighty prolong!) to be crowned King of Sweden, and receive the oath of fidelity; in short to govern the kingdom according to the literal sense of the constitution of the sixth of June, 1809, and of the other laws in force, as well fundamental as general and special, the whole conformable to the answers which his Royal Highness shall now give, and afterwards at his accession to the throne. We also confer on the legitimate male descendants of his Royal Highness, the right of filling the throne of Sweden, in the order and manner which are literally prescribed in the law of succession which we have established. We, the States-general of Sweden have, in consequence, confirmed the present act of election, by the signature of our names, and affixing our seals.—Done at Orebro this 21st of August, in the year of the Christian era, 1810."

The annexed letter was addressed by the subject of

these memoirs to the king of Sweden, upon the intelligence of his election being communicated to him.

"Sire,

"I will not attempt to represent to your majesty the feelings by which I was pervaded, when I understood that a nation, highly celebrated in the annals of the world, had thought fit to direct their attention towards a military character, who owes every thing to the affection of his country. It will be equally difficult for me to express my gratitude and astonishment at the wonderful magnanimity with which your majesty presented, as your successour, a person bound to you by no ties. The more your majesty has endeavoured to accomplish this object for the Swedish people, the more infinite is my gratitude. I do not conceal from myself the extent nor difficulty of my duties; but if I can trust to my own heart, I shall fulfil them. There never existed in the soul of man a more powerful spring of action, and never was there a happier opportunity presented for him to dedicate his existence to the welfare of a nation. As soon as your majesty's letter was delivered to me by the Count Morner, I hastened to forward it to his majesty the Emperour and King. He was pleased completely to crown his goodness towards me, by authorizing me to become the adopted son of your majesty. According to what you have been pleased to address me, I shall hasten my departure, to lay at your majesty's feet my grateful homage, and to make your majesty the depositor of my oath. To this day I have placed my whole fame and character on serving my country; but France will, I venture to flatter myself, assist me in my exertions for the benefit of Sweden. She cannot, without emotion, see one of her children destined by

the voice of a magnanimous people to govern a kingdom which has been long numbered among her allies.

"I am, with profoundest respect, Sire, your most devoted and obedient.

"J. BERNADOTTE."

After making his solemn profession, the Prince of Ponte Corvo, on the 15th of October, crossed from Wyborg to Corsoer in Zealand, passing through a fleet of 500 merchant ships which were under a strong British convoy, and from Zealand he proceeded in a Swedish vessel to Helsenburg.

The subjoined letter was addressed by the Crown Prince of Sweden to the King, upon landing in Sweden, and in answer to the King's presenting him with the Swedish orders.

"*November* 1, 1810.

"Sire,

"Conscious that the repeated honours done me, not only by your majesty, but by the Swedish nation, can never be recompensed, I cannot but labour under great difficulty, in the expression of the gratitude I feel to so noble a king of so noble a nation. Your majesty and the people of Sweden may rest fully assured that their interests and welfare shall ever be nearest my heart, and that I will rather sacrifice that life which they have deemed worthy of such distinction, than suffer them to be injured or encroached upon. It could not be without some degree of pain and reluctance that I accepted the high dignity of being made Crown Prince of Sweden, aware as I am of my incapacity,

born and bred a soldier, to perform the arduous and important duties of that station. The honours with which your majesty has been graciously pleased to invest me, shall never be sullied by the wearer; and it shall be my constant study to add new lustre to their brightness.

"Feeling myself, as I have already observed, wholly incompetent to express my gratitude, I have the great honour to be, your majesty's most humble, devoted, and affectionate," &c.

I cannot, in this place, avoid introducing the character drawn of the Prince Royal by Madame La Baronne de Staël Holstein:—

"It is, perhaps, your least praise, that even among brave men, you are distinguished by courage and intrepidity; qualities which in you are tempered by a goodness still more sublime. The blood of the warriour, the tears of the poor, even the apprehensions of the public are the objects of your watchful humanity; you fear but to witness the sufferings of your fellow creatures. An exalted station has not effaced from your heart its tenderness or sympathy.

"It has been said by a Frenchman, that your royal highness unites the chivalry of republicanism with that of royalty, and it is indeed impossible to imagine a degree of generosity not congenial to your character. In the relations of society you are far from imposing restraint by an unnecessary reserve; and it is perhaps not too much to affirm, that you could win the suffrages of a whole nation, one after the other, if every individual, of which it was composed, had the

privilege of conversing with you for a quarter of an hour. Yet to this graceful affability you add, that masculine energy which extorts confidence from all superiour minds.

"The Swedes, once so celebrated for their gallant achievements, inheriting the noble qualities of their ancestors, hail you as the presage of returning glory. By you, sir, their rights are respected, no less from principle than from inclination. Under circumstances of peculiar delicacy, you have repeatedly shewn that you were as zealous to guard the bulwarks of the constitution, as other princes have been anxious to infringe them. Accustomed to find in these duties no invidious restriction, but a safeguard and support, you have uniformly shewn such a deference for the king's wisdom and experience, as throws a new lustre on the power committed to your trust. Pursue, sir, the career which presents so glorious a prospect to your view, and you shall teach the world what it has hitherto been slow to learn, that real intellectual greatness includes moral excellence, and that the hero who is truly magnanimous, far from despising the human race, believes he is superiour to other men, only because he is able to sacrifice his interests for their welfare."*

After his arrival in Sweden, the Prince Royal employed every means to obtain the approbation of the Swedes, and to gain their confidence. He had, as required, adopted the Lutheran tenets of the Swedish church, and he now, by acts of the most extraordinary beneficence, endeavoured to attain universal love and respect throughout the kingdom of Sweden. He

* *Vide* Reflections on Suicide.

purchased with his private fortune the estates in Pomerania that had been distributed among French officers, and restored them to their true and lawful owners and he accomodated the Swedish government with the loan of more than 300,000 pounds sterling, at five per cent. interest. These measures produced the desired effect, and the Prince Royal of Sweden became generally respected and esteemed.

On the 1st of November, in the presence of the Diet, this officer was installed, and the opportunity presented itself to him for publicly delivering the political sentiments which would direct his future conduct. The following is his address:

"Sire,

"In appearing this day before the throne of your majesty, surrounded by the States-general of the realm, my first duty, as it is the first wish of my heart, is to lay at your feet the public homage of the sacred and inviolable sentiments which for life attach me to your majesty. I pay this homage to my King, Sire; but I also pay it to the person of a prince, who, long before he mounted the throne, had acquired by his virtues the confidence and love of the nation. In difficult circumstances, the State has always had recourse to your majesty: twice the throne was vacant, and twice your majesty performed the painful duties of royalty, without any other interest but that of the public weal; but all at once broke forth one of those revolutions which heaven appears sometimes to permit, as a lesson to princes, and the nation conjured your majesty to place yourself on that very throne which you had so long defended. I could never have foreseen that I should one day be associated to destinies so

glorious, and that your majesty, after having deigned to fix upon me the suffrages of your people, would at last crown so many favours by adopting me for your son. A title so dear fills my soul with an ambition the most noble! What am I not bound to do, to merit, to support, that illustrious name which your majesty has this day bestowed upon me? It is not without great distrust of my own powers, that I have accepted a task at once so honourable and so difficult. If I have been able to resolve upon it, it was only from thinking that I should follow in every thing the counsels of your majesty, and that near you I should be instructed in the great art of reigning. God grant, Sire, that I may long enjoy your lessons. God grant that the youthful mind of my son may be modelled after yours, and be penetrated with the great examples which your majesty presents to his descendants.

"Messieurs the Deputies of the Nobility!

"Called to be the first defender of the Throne and of the State, I trust that you will second me in that noble office. You know, gentlemen, that primitive nobility was the reward of great services performed to the country; and what obligations are not they under to the State, who enjoy by birth the rewards merited by their ancestors? The sacrifice of their life on every occasion is the least of their duties: it is only by giving an example of perfect disinterestedness, by an entire submission to the King and to the laws; it is only, in short, by living without reproach, that the nobility of your ancestors is really to be preserved.

"Gentlemen, Members of the Clergy!

"The sublime morality of the gospel, which it is your duty to preach, should serve as a guide to all

men; it contains a lesson for kings and people. I shall with pleasure avail myself of your information, and my heart will be grateful for the good that you do in diffusing, like good pastors, the precepts and the succours of the religion of Jesus Christ.

"Gentlemen Burgesses!

"Industry, arts, and commerce, ensure the prosperity of a State, as they increase the happiness of families, in a free nation, and under a just government: genius and talents lead to every thing, and those who distinguish themselves in your order, have great claims to the esteem of the sovereign.

"And you, brave Swedish peasants!

"I have every where heard proclaimed the qualities which distinguish you, and I see with a pleasing emotion the particular consideration which your country grants to you. What, are not they highly worthy of those distinctions, whose arms alternately support and defend the country? Continue to honour by your labour and your virtues the useful and respectable order that you form in the State. Your king watches like a father over your dearest interests: his majesty will permit me to participate in his tender solicitude.

"It is, however, to you all, faithful representatives of the Swedish nation, that I address myself. The king deigned to propose me as successour to the throne; you confirmed that choice by an election free and unanimous, and his majesty this day indissolubly binds the ties which already attach me to you. So many favours, such esteem and confidence, impose on me the greatest obligations; I feel them sensibly, and am firmly resolved to fulfil them. Bred in camps, I

bring you a frank and loyal soul, an absolute devotedness to the king my august father, an ardent desire to do every thing for the happiness of my new country; with such intentions, I hope to do good. Sound policy, that alone which the laws of God authorize, must have for its basis justice and truth: such are the principles of the king—they shall also be mine. I have beheld war close at hand, I know all its ravages: there is no conquest which can console a country for the blood of its children, shed in a foreign land. I have seen the great Emperour of the French, so often crowned with the laurels of victory, surrounded by his invincible armies, sigh after the olive of peace. Yes, gentlemen, peace is the alone glorious object of a wise and enlightened government: it is not the extent of a State which constitutes its force and independence; it is its laws, its industry, its commerce, and, above all, its national spirit. Sweden, it is true, has sustained great losses; but the honour of the Swedish name has not suffered the least attaint. Let us submit, gentlemen, to the decrees of Providence, and let us recollect, that it has left us a soil sufficient to supply our wants, and iron to defend it."

At the time of the Prince of Ponte Corvo's election, it is very evident that the Swedish government was temporising with Buonaparte, and endeavouring to avoid the evil towards which he was pressing it; but when the latter perceived no steps were taken to aid his ambitious projects, he fully explained his mortified feelings to the Swedish minister at Paris, the Baron de Lagerbjelke, who in the following dispatch to the King of Sweden, dated Paris, October 26, 1810, lost no time in communicating the same to his court.

"Notwithstanding all the personal prejudices of which I have been the object, it would have been easy for me to have prepared myself against a scene but little agreeable. The nature of my conferences with the Duke of Cadore; the precipitate departure of M. de Tchernicheff; the catastrophe with which Switzerland saw herself threatened on commercial accounts; the advantages gained in Portugal, by which it was no doubt intended to profit, to bear down the English on all points at once; all these circumstances united, had given me sufficient insight to judge what the object of the audience would be; but I acknowledge that I did not expect so violent an explosion. I had never beheld the Emperour in anger; but he was so at this time, to a point which surpasses all imagination.

"I was introduced a little after nine o'clock in the morning. I found the Duke de Cadore with the Emperour, and the presence of this third person caused me at first to suppose that I had been called to hear an official declaration, but that I should not be permitted to attend the discussion. I nevertheless resolved to reply on every occasion where I could introduce a word.

"It is impossible for me to render your majesty an account of all that the Emperour said during the space of at least an hour and a quarter, because his agitation was so great, his discourse so broken, his repetitions so frequent, that it was extremely difficult to remember all. I began by presenting your majesty's letter. 'Do you know (said the Emperour) what is the subject of this letter?' I explained it, adding a compliment. Without making any reply thereto, the Emperour went on. (Every break in the Emperour's

discourse will sufficiently explain to your ma[illegible] the nature of the short replies which I endeav[illegible]d to make in the intervals.) 'Oh, ho! Monsieur Le Baron, do they at length cease to believe, in Sweden, that I am merely a dupe? Do they think that I can accommodate myself to this mixed or half state of things?—Oh! give me no sentiments! it is from facts that we draw our proofs in matters of politics.—Let us see these facts. You signed the peace with me in the beginning of the year—you engaged yourselves to break off all communications with England—you kept a minister at London, and an English agent in Sweden, until the summer was far advanced—you did not interrupt the ostensible communication by the way of Gottenburg until still later, and what was the result of it? That the correspondence remained the same, neither more nor less active—Poh! the question is not a communication by this way, or by that; it is regular; it is very considerable.—You have vessels in all the ports of England—Salt; truly!—Do you get salt in the Thames? The English trading vessels besiege Gottenburg—a fine proof that they do not enter there!—They exchange their merchandize in the open sea, or near to the coasts. Your little islands serve as magazines in the winter season. Your vessels openly carry colonial produce into Germany; I have caused half a score of them to be seized at Rostock—Is it possible that one can affect thus to be mistaken on the first principle of the continental system?—Very well. You do not approve of this in your note; it is not of that I complain, it is of the fact.—I have not slept a single hour in the night, on account of your affairs: you might suffer me to repose in peace, I have need of it. —Again is this restitution of the English prisoners a proper thing; those who had so imprudently attempted

the dignity of the king, and violated his territory. Restored without any satisfaction!—Was it not so, Monsieur de Cadore?—(The minister all in tremulation, did not omit replying affirmatively to this, as well as to some other similar questions.) Another violation of territorial right, is the capture of a French privateer in the interiour of the port of Stralsund; but to me, no account has been rendered.*—It is not to one's friends that one shews these little attentions!—Very well, remain with the English!—If one were to judge from the evil you have done me this very year, you never could have been better friends to the English than at this moment.—Oh, oh! it is you that tell me so! It is you who assure me that Sweden wishes rather to remain on my side, but proofs, I say, give me proofs! Very well! your state, at the end of an unfortunate war, required some circumspection and precaution.—Well, I have had them to my loss. You have cajoled me, yes, you; you, yourself.—You have had the address to gain the bad season; you have time to settle your interests with England; is it just, that if any engagements exist contrary to faith, that I am to bear the burthen?—You have had time to put yourselves in a state of defence: you have still the winter before you. What then have you to risk?—Yes, the export trade; that is the battle horse: what then is become of the neutral flag?—There are no longer any neutrals: England acknowledges none, nor can I acknowledge them any longer.—Salt, aye, salt! one can find means to obtain what is necessary. How did you do in 1801, when you were in open rupture with England?—Suffer! Do you not believe that I suffer? That

* The trade of Stralsund, by the king's orders, paid the value of this privateer, which was taken merely in consequence of her own imprudence.

France, Bordeaux, that Holland, that Germany suffer? But this is precisely what an end must be put to. A maritime peace at any price!—[Here the Emperour was violently agitated.] Yes, Sweden is the sole cause of the crisis I experience. Sweden has done me more harm than five coalitions together. But now, restored to her communications with the rest of Europe, she has taken advantage of it to carry on the commerce of England.—Ah! sir, time! always time: I have lost too much time.—It was necessary, you said, to enter into the new system, without making too many sacrifices: it was also necessary for me, you added, to do some good for Sweden. Hear me: when you made choice of the Prince of Ponte Corvo, did I risk nothing in permitting him to accept the offer? Was I not on the point of embroiling myself with Russia? Was it not believed—is it not, perhaps, still believed—that you, on your side, and the Saxons and Poles on the other, supported by me, would arm to conquer their lost provinces? Were not men's minds then much agitated in Poland? What did I do then? I caused such things to be said, such reports to be circulated, as might detach Russia from my system. It is only now that, more and more undeceived with respect to Swedish politics, I have taken a decisive step, which I will not conceal from you. I have sent back M. de Tchernicheff to Russia; I have informed him of the declaration which I have made to you to-day. I have strongly pressed the Emperour Alexander to take the same step on his part.—Choose! Cannon must be fired on the English which approach your coasts; and their merchandize in Sweden be confiscated, or you must have war with France. I cannot do you any great harm: I occupy Pomerania, and you do not much care about

it: but I can cause you to be attacked by the Russians and by the Danes; and I can confiscate all your vessels on the continent, and I will do it, if within fifteen days you are not at war with England.—Yes, you are right; the time for the going and returning of the courier must be reckoned, and something more. Here, M. de Cadore, I order you to send off a courier immediately; and you, sir, will do the same. If within five days after the official act of M. Alquier, the king has not resolved to be at war with England, M. Alquier shall set out immediately, and Sweden shall have war with France and all her allies.—Yes, it is just, I have not positively demanded the state of war before this moment; but I am now forced to it by all imaginable means. Sweden has already found that she cannot remain in a mixed state with England, without doing great injury to the continent. At length, things have taken a general developement, which requires a perfect equality of measures, or a state of open hostilities. This is what all other powers have thought ought to be done.—Russia, though stronger than the rest, has only obtained peace with me, on the condition of declaring war against England. Austria, a power of the first order, if France did not exist, has frankly taken her resolution. I have been a long time the dupe of Prussia, and of you. She at length came to find, by the catastrophe of Holland, that it was necessary to come to a determination, and she frankly adopted a state of war. Denmark has done so long ago; but with what title can I exact from that country, what I cannot obtain from Sweden. I often say to myself, who knows whether I shall always be on a good footing with Russia? Who can read the chapter of events? May it not one day be of the greatest interest to me, to have a friendly power

in the North, strong in its own resources, as well as by my alliance? But could it, meanwhile, be believed in Sweden, that I would relax any thing in my invariable principles in favour of the new Prince Royal. On the contrary, the political crisis into which I have brought myself in her favour, gives me a stronger title. Meanwhile Sweden owes a great obligation to the person of the Prince Royal; for without that choice, (by no means influenced by me,) I should, two months ago, have taken the step which I now find myself forced to do. I nevertheless repent of this delay, which, on account of the season, has been so beneficial to you; not because I regret whatever good you may have derived from it, but because you have used me too ill. For a long time past, the office which was intended for you, was ready in the bureau of Monsieur the Duke de Cadore, (an affirmative reverence from the minister,) but I waited for the arrival of the Prince Royal, who is instructed in my way of thinking.*— I have not been able to do it; I have told you, that I was on the point of embroiling myself with Russia; I gave all Europe notice, that at this decisive moment my system might be capable of modification. Besides this, new complaints against Sweden reached me from all sides. Ah! I know what you have to say to me; I have read all that you wrote.—Well, be it so; there may have been some exaggeration in the complaints, but there still remains a sufficient quantity of truth.— I wish that you had a better cause to defend. Oh no! the situation of the Prince Royal will not be so difficult: all comes from hence, there is nothing embar-

* The Emperour had promised the Prince Royal not to exact any thing from Sweden before the Month of May, 1811, and the Prince Royal assured him, that after that term Sweden would extend her system of policy, and be openly for or against the Continental system, according as her interests may require.

rassing in the choice. But yet, could they believe in Sweden that they might serve the cause of England, without resentment on my part because I love and esteem the Prince Royal? I likewise love and esteem the King of Holland; he is my brother, and yet I have broke with him: I have silenced the voice of nature, to give ear to that of the general interest.

If you were on my frontiers, I should with regret be forced to act as I have just done with the Swiss. I have caused some troops to march, and the government has confiscated the English merchandizes.—Let us resume ourselves at length; let Sweden act as she thinks most advantageous; I know that it is out of my power to force her. Let her frankly range herself on the side of England against me and my allies, if such be her interest; or let her unite with me against England.—But the time for hesitation is passed: when five days have elapsed, M. Alquier will depart, and I will give you your passports. You have said no more than what you ought to have said; but I cannot do otherwise than send you back.—Open war, or constant friendship: this is my last word, my ultimate declaration. Adieu, may I see you again under more favourable auspices!"—The Emperour then left me without deigning to hear me further. On leaving his apartments, I saw no one else in the other apartment, not even the officers on duty. I know not what had given cause to this extraordinary circumstance, whether it was by order, or proceeded from the spontaneous discretion of the functionaries, because the Emperour had frequently elevated his voice to such a pitch, that it was impossible not to hear him in the next room.

"I had afterwards a conference with the Duke of Cadore, on parting from whom I set off from Paris. This conversation was nothing more than a repetition of what had passed with the Emperour; that my dispatch to your majesty, and that of the minister to Baron Alquier, might agree as near as possible. Every thing having been said on this subject, I could not forbear expressing to the Duke of Cadore, how sensibly I felt the harsh and violent form into which the Emperour had put his demand. The minister laid great stress on the satisfaction which I ought to feel (as he told me) in tempering the Emperour's vivacity, especially towards the conclusion, and quoted several passages which afforded some hopes for the future. He gave me a courier passport, which was prepared before-hand. He promised me not to send his courier from Fontainbleau, until about the same time that I should expedite mine from Paris; that is to say, in the evening of this day, in order that the bearer of this might have a little advance. He assured me, that M. Alquier would have two days to arrange his office, besides the five which formed the time of his limitation. He dwelt much on the fact, which he requested me also to consider as important, that the election of Monseigneur the Prince Royal, far from having provoked this step on the Emperour's part, had retarded it for several months, and had thereby procured for Sweden a delay doubly important, on account of the season. He added, that the Emperour's resolution of taking his steps, even whilst the Prince was said to be on his journey, had partly in view the intention of not rendering him innocently unpopular."

Threatened by France, by Russia, and by Den-

mark, the Swedish government declared in a manifesto its adherence to what the French Ruler termed the continental system, and war against Great Britain and Ireland. All intercourse with the British dominions was therefore prohibited, and the importation of colonial produce interdicted. The government of Great Britain was, however, fully sensible of the causes that occasioned this manifesto: and it accordingly made no perceptible difference in the relation of this country towards Sweden.

The above declaration was, nevertheless, far from being popular with the Swedish nation. Opinions were propagated throughout the kingdom that it was the design of the Prince Royal to enforce the continental system,* establish the French power in the Baltic, and, finally, by a war for the recovery of Finland, to co-operate for the expulsion of the Russians from St. Petersburgh.

The Prince Royal was not, however, blind to the critical and singular situation into which his destiny had placed him. He was sensible of the power he might command, and of what essential service he could be in restoring peace, or a balance of power on the continent of Europe. Instead, therefore, of giving full effect to the continental system, Buonaparte very early perceived that his former associate in arms far from holding out to him expectations of aid at a

* "The infallible consequences of the continental system, to every State, are the ruin of commerce and industry; overwhelming taxes; the overthrow of all constitutional forms; interminable wars on account of others; equally expensive and sanguinary; armies estranged from their country, and all of them ready to turn their arms against their fellow-citizens; princes, incapable of protecting, endowed with an unlimited power of oppressing their subjects, and trembling in their turn before their master; finally, in the midst of terrour, misery, ignominy, the obligation to erect triumphal arches, and to sing hymns of adulation."—*Appeal to the Nations of Europe, &c.*

time when he required all the strength and capabilities of Sweden, evidently, notwithstanding the declaration before noticed, inclined to the cause of his adversaries, as it seemed impossible for Sweden to remain in a state of neutrality. On the 8th and 12th of December, the following letters were addressed to Buonaparte by the Prince Royal of Sweden:—

Stockholm, Dec. 8, 1810.

"Sire,

"By my letter of the 19th of November, I had the honour to inform you, that the King, faithful to the sentiments which he expressed to your Majesty, resolved to declare war against England, notwithstanding every thing which the safety of his States opposed to that measure, and with the object alone of pleasing your Majesty.

"The King will always be proud of having given this proof of devotion to your Majesty; but it belongs to me, who am a daily witness of his sufferings and inquietudes, to appeal to your majesty's magnanimity in an affair which may have an influence upon the King's health, and upon the happiness of Sweden. I flatter myself that your majesty will graciously receive my observations.

"In addressing myself directly to you, Sire, I take the advantage of an old privilege which I shall always like to preserve, and which will renew in my heart, recollections equally agreeable as glorious.

"Sweden, in the sad condition to which the last war reduced her, neither should nor can aspire, but after a long peace. It was the only means of regaining,

by agriculture and commerce, the losses she had sustained, and thus re-establishing by degrees her finances, and of entirely recruiting her military system and her administration. Far from that, it is Sweden who has just declared war; she has hazarded this step without a single battalion ready to march, without her arsenals or magazines containing the least necessary article; and what is still worse, without a single *sous* to provide for the expenses of so great an enterprize; in a word, in the station in which the government of this country is, such a step would undoubtedly make it be accused of folly, if your majesty's approbation did not legitimate every thing. Sweden, it is true, possesses in herself the principles of a great force; her inhabitants are by nature warriours; her constitution allows of 80,000 men being put on foot, and its male population is such, that this levy can be easily raised; but you, Sire, know that war can only be supported by war; and a great military state, purely defensive, is an expense which Sweden cannot support without foreign aid.

"The constitutional laws forbid the king from imposing new taxes, without the consent of the general States; and the war has just destroyed one of the principal branches of public revenue, the produce of the customs, which amounted to more than six millions of francs a year. To that must be added, that the contributions are in arrear, and that the confiscations which are made, fall upon Swedish subjects, and not upon foreigners, who take the precaution of insuring payment for the goods imported.

In short, Sire, our situation is most alarming, if France does not come to our succour. Since the first alliance concluded between Gustavus Vasa and Fran-

cis I. France has been not only the constant friend of Sweden, but has supported and succoured her in all her wars. Nature seems to have destined these two nations to live in harmony; and if she has refused Sweden riches, she has endowed her with valour and all the qualites requisite for the execution of the greatest designs. There is here but one wish, that of being sincerely in accord with France, and of participating in her glory every time an opportunity presents itself. But money fails us.

"Deign, Sire, to take into consideration the particular state of this country, and be pleased to kindly accept the expression of the sentiments, &c."

From the same to the same, dated Stockholm, December 12, 1810.

"Sire,

"M. de Tchernicheff asked me if I would take charge of a letter for your Majesty. I hastened to do it, hoping that he will tell your Majesty what he has seen in Sweden. In truth, Sire, full of confidence in your magnanimity, and your particular kindness for me, I have but one thing to desire, viz. that the truth should be known to you.

"M. de Tchernicheff will tell your Majesty that Sweden is upon the point of being reduced to the most deplorable state; that she is without any means of supporting the war which she has just declared; that nevertheless the government redoubles its efforts in so violent a crisis; but that it is not in the power of the King to extend, as in other places, the system of confiscations; that the constitution here guarantees the

rights and property of every individual; and that even if the King should adopt a contrary measure, no Counsellor of State would give his consent to it.

"I have the happiness of having in my favour the general opinion of the nation; but most certainly I should lose this moral force that day in which it was believed I had the least intention of making the smallest attempt upon the constitution.

"The King offers to your majesty every thing in his power. No sacrifice will be painful to him, to prove to your Majesty his devotion to France; but I conjure you, Sire, deign to calculate our means, and grant us the confidence we merit, by our sincere and unalterable attachment."

Notwithstanding these letters, Buonaparte, on the 26th December, demanded that Sweden should place in his pay a sufficient number of sailors, to complete the crews of four ships of the Brest fleet. The minister of Napoleon in making this application to the Swedish Minister observed,—"It would be sufficient, to meet the desire of the Emperour, and to satisfy the demand which I have the honour to make, if the number of officers, masters, marines, and sailors, did not exceed 2000. The Emperour will charge himself with all the expense of their journey, and every precaution will be taken in order that the marines and sailors may be properly supported, and the officers fully contented with their treatment. In the critical state in which the Swedish finances are at this present moment, it will, perhaps, be agreeable to his majesty to diminish the expenses of his marine, without, how-

ever, leaving inactive the talents and courage of his seamen. The good office which the Emperour requires of his majesty the King of Sweden, having already eagerly been performed by Denmark, his Imperial Majesty is convinced that he has not too much presumed upon the friendship of a power attached for such a length of time to France, by a reciprocity of interest and good-will, which has never ceased to exist."

The reply of the Baron d'Engestrom to the last communication deserves remark:

"The constitutional laws of the State prevent the King from acquiescing of himself, in the Emperour's demand concerning the 2000 seamen. Rivalling Denmark in the desire to contribute to the accomplishment of his Imperial and Royal Majesty's views, the King, nevertheless, does not think that the example of that country, where the will of the King is an absolute law, can be applicable to Sweden. In consequence of the late events which have placed his Majesty on the throne, a constitutional compact has been renewed between the Sovereign and the nation, which it is not in the power of any person to infringe. His Majesty, in consequence, and in the most lively manner, regrets that the good office that the Emperour requires of him, should precisely fall on a matter which does not depend on his own will.

"No new levy can be made, according to the tenor of the constitution, but with the consent of the States. Those to which they have already consented expressly presuppose their being intended for the defence of the country; and the number of common seamen is so

much diminished since the loss of Finland, that they are scarcely sufficient for the service of the navy, especially under the present circumstances. But if even the King could, as he might wish to do, succeed in putting aside those ties which are imposed on him by the laws of the State, and the rights of the citizens; yet, nevertheless, his majesty fears that the 2000 Swedish seamen transferred to Brest, would not entirely fulfil the just expectations of his Imperial Majesty. Attached to his barren soil, to his domestic relations and habits, the Swedish soldier could not withstand the influence of a southern sky. He would be ready to sacrifice every thing in defence of his home, but when far from thence, and not immediately combatting for it, his heart would only beat for his return to his country. He would, consequently, carry with him into the French ranks, that inquietude and discouragement, which destroys the finest armies more than the steel of their enemies. With regard to the officers of the navy, there is no obstacle against their serving in France, and his Majesty with pleasure permits them to profit by the generous offer of his Imperial and Royal Majesty."

On the 17th March, 1811, a proclamation was issued at Stockholm, apprizing the public that his Majesty the King of Sweden, in consequence of ill health, had thought it necessary, for the present to withdraw* from the management of public affairs, and that he had appointed the Prince Royal to administe r

* *Temporary resignation of the king.*

"We, Charles, by the grace of God, King of Sweden, &c. &c. make known, whereas, owing to an illness that has befallen us, and from which, by the assistance of the Almighty, we hope soon to be restored, we have deemed it necessary, in order to promote this object, for the present to withdraw ourselves from the cares and troubles which are so closely united with the management of public affairs; and in order, during our illness,

the Royal authority in his stead and in his name, but under the restriction of not creating any noblemen or knights.

Whilst exercising the powers of the Swedish monarch, the Prince Royal rigourously devoted himself to the correction of all public abuses, and to produce throughout the kingdom a beneficial and necessary reform. His efforts were attended with ample success, although the undertaking was in itself extremely arduous, and even dangerous: but the Swedes perceiving that he was ever ready and ever first to set the example, and that although at the head of the nation, he gave himself up to no luxuries, and refused no exertion, they began gradually to admit such a reform as

not to retard the progress of affairs, we have thought fit to order what is to be observed respecting the government; and having at the same time found that the States of the kingdom, on drawing up the constitution, have, only from tender motives towards us, not pointed out how and in what manner, as in the present case, the government is to be managed during the illness of the king, when the successour is of age, we have therefore, thought that we could in no better way fulfil our obligation towards ourselves and the kingdom, than by entrusting the care of both to a prince, who, being intended one day to be seated on the throne of Sweden, has by the ties of nature and friendship become most dear to us, and who unites in his person the love of us and of the Swedish people. And we do, therefore, hereby appoint and nominate our beloved son, his Royal Highness Charles John, Prince Royal of Sweden, and Generalissimo of our military forces by land and sea, during our illness, and until we shall be restored to health, to manage the government in our name, with all the rights we possess, and alone to sign and issue all orders, &c. with the following motto above the signature:—'During the illness of my gracious King and Lord, and agreeable to his appointment.'—However, his Royal Highness the Prince Royal, must not, during the administration of our royal power and dignity, create any nobleman, baron, or count, or bestow on any one the orders of knighthood. All vacant offices of state can only, until further orders, be managed by those whom his Royal Highness shall appoint for that purpose. We rest assured that our faithful subjects will joyfully receive the resolution thus taken by us, which gives an unexceptionable proof of our unlimited confidence in our well-beloved son, his Royal Highness the Crown Prince, and of the sentiments which we have always entertained and which we never shall cease but with our life to entertain for the people, the government of whom Providence has confided to us. This serves for the information of all and every one concerned: in further testimony whereof we have signed these presents, and caused the same to be sanctioned by our royal seal.

"CHARLES (L. S.) JAS. WETTERFELDT.

"Palace of Stockholm, March 17, 1811."

could alone raise them to their ancient state of renown. The annexed edict for the depressing of luxury was issued on the 10th of July.

Edictf or the repressing of Luxury.

"Sir

"The King has felt himself obliged, in order to destroy that tendency to luxury and effeminacy which has already, perhaps, taken root in the nation, not only to invite his faithful subjects to renounce such pernicious abuses, but also to renew the ancient ordinances with regard to smuggling, which shall in future be severely punished. Under these circumstances, I think it my duty to invite you to exert yourself with zeal in this important business. The experience of past time, and the renewal of ancient ordinances, sufficiently show the inefficacy of laws in attaining the object proposed. When nations the most respectable prefer an empty brilliancy to that which is real, frivolity to gravity, and the thirst of gain to an honest competence, they are led astray; the superfluities of foreign countries injure the native productions of their own, and every one sacrifices the public good to his personal interest. It is in vain that the law opposes its authority to the progress of the evil, while punishment, slowly reaching two or three individuals, gives time for inventing new subterfuges. But there is a powerful mean of supporting the law, of rousing the national spirit, and of re-establishing order—it is the example of submission to authority, of respect for the ordinances connected with decency, morals, and sobriety, which should be given by the first societies of the kingdom, by holding up the dissipated and the selfish to contempt, and by honouring those who practice

temperance, and know how to impose upon themselves privations. It becomes me, especially, in the high rank which I hold from the confidence of the King and the nation, to set the first example; and it will not cost me any sacrifice to do so. From the moment when my fate was united with that of Sweden, I have not felt the least foreign want; I have had no wants but those of my new country. Desolated by war and internal troubles, hardly escaped from dangers which appeared to threaten its speedy ruin, when its preservation and security require the slight sacrifice of some imaginary wants of luxury, I cannot believe that the thinking part of the nation, who know our external relations, and our situation at home, who call to mind the honour and the virtues of their ancestors, will forget for a moment their dignity and their duties; but listening to these too noble motives, will enforce the wise views of the King.—It is to you, Sir, as well as to the other authorities of the kingdom, that the honour will belong of realizing as much as possible, by your distinguished example, the intentions of his majesty; and I expect with entire confidence this new proof of your fidelity to your King, and of your devotedness to your country, assuring you that I shall mark it with peculiar complacency.

"I therefore recommend you to Almighty God, and am your affectionate,

"CHARLES JOHN."

Castle of Drottningsholm,
July 10, 1811.

The Prince Royal having held the reins of the Swedish government till January, 1812, the king resumed the royal authority, and the following address, ex-

plaining the measures adopted during his retirement, their success and policy, was delivered on the 7th of that month by the Prince Royal to his Majesty.

"Sire,

"My most ardent wishes have been fulfilled. The re-established health of your Majesty again enables you to resume the government of the kingdom.

"I can appeal to your own heart, to judge of the delightful emotion mine experiences in replacing in the hands of your Majesty, an authority, the prolonged exercise of which has constantly kept before me the danger which threatened your days.

"Notwithstanding the daily reports which I have submitted to your Majesty, both respecting the exteriour and interiour situation of the State, I, nevertheless, consider it my duty to profit by the present occasion, so important for me, upon all accounts, to present your Majesty with a rapid sketch of them.

"When your Majesty decided upon embracing the continental policy, and declaring war against Great Britain, Sweden had got clear of an unfortunate contest; her wounds were still bleeding; it was necessary for her to make new sacrifices, at a moment even when she lost one of the principal branches of her public revenues; the whole of that produced by the customs being nearly annihilated.

"In defiance of the insulated situation of Sweden, she has performed for the interest of the common cause, all that could be expected from a people faithful to their engagements; more than 2,000,000 of rix dol-

lars have been expended in recruiting the army, and placing in a state of defence the coasts of our islands, our fortresses, and our fleets.

"I will not conceal from your Majesty, that our commerce has been reduced to a simple coasting trade from port to port, and has greatly suffered from this state of war. Privateers, under friendly flags, against which it would have been injurious to have adopted measures of safety and precaution, have taken advantage of our confidence in treaties, to capture, one after another, nearly fifty of our merchantmen; but at last, Sire, your flotilla received orders to protect the Swedish flag, and the just commerce of your subjects, against piracies which could neither be authorized nor avowed by any government.

"The Danish cruisers have given much cause for complaint on our part; but the evil decreases daily, and every thing leads us to think the lawful commerce of Sweden will not be any longer disturbed by them, and that the relations of good neighbourhood will be more and more strengthened.

"The cruisers under the French flag have given an unlimited extension to their letters of marque; the injuries which they have done us, have been the object of our complaints. The justice and loyalty of his Majesty the Emperour of the French have guaranteed their redress.

"The protections given by friendly governments have been respected; and such of their ships as have touched upon our coasts, have been at liberty to continue their voyage, whatever might be their destination.

"About fifty American ships, driven upon our coasts by successive tempests, have been released. This act of justice, founded upon the rights of nations, has been appreciated by the United States; and appearances promise us, that better understood relations with their government will facilitate the exportation of the numerous piles of iron with which our public places are now filled.

"Political considerations join with the family connexion which unites your majesty and the King of Prussia, to consolidate the relations of friendship that subsist between the two powers.

"The peace with Russia will not be troubled: the treaties by which it is cemented are executed on both sides with frankness and good faith.

"Our relations with the Austrian empire are upon a most amicable footing: the remembrance of glory brings the two nations nearer to each other; and your Majesty will neglect nothing which can contribute to maintaining the reciprocity of confidence and esteem it causes.

"If Spain and Portugal should assume a tranquil posture, these countries will offer to Swedish commerce; advantages which would guarantee the perfection of the plans she has commenced for improving her iron mines.

"Our intercourse with Southern America has entirely ceased; civil war ravages these fine and unfortunate countries. When they have a regular administration, the produce of the kingdom will find an advantageous vent there.

"The maritime war has interrupted our commercial relations with Turkey; but nothing which interests that ancient friend of Sweden, can be indifferent to your majesty.

"Such, Sire, are the exteriour relations of Sweden; justice and loyalty towards all nations have been the political guides of your majesty.

"The army and the finances, those two principal guarantees of a State, have, above all, been the objects of my constant solicitude.

"A wise economy has governed the expenditure of the funds destined for the armaments which the state of war rendered necessary. This war having great influence upon the exportation of Swedish productions, upon the general proceedings of trade, and the imaginations of merchants, had caused the course of exchange to rise to an exorbitant height: I particularly directed my attention to stop this scourge of States, which having once broken its dykes, no bounds can be placed to its ravages; by repressing on the one side stock-jobbing; by carrying into execution the ancient laws against the unlawful exportation of gold and silver; by imposing a duty of transit upon the conveyance of ingots from foreign countries, passing through Sweden; by endeavouring to bring back the nation to the principles of economy which distinguished their ancestors. On the other side, I have endeavoured to give activity to the interiour industry and lawful commerce of Sweden.

"I have had the satisfaction of seeing my efforts crowned with success, and that the course of exchange

upon Hamburg, which in March last was at 136 sk. on the 3d of the present January was only 84 sk.

"I have taken measures to render more general the manufacture of linen, and the culture of hemp; to proceed actively in the discovery of new sources for obtaining salt; to continue the clearing of the grounds in Dalecarlia; to establish a new communication with and new markets in Verweland; to form a company destined to carry on the herring fishery in the open sea; to augment our commercial relations with Finland, to carry into execution the financial resolutions of the States of the kingdom; to give to the direction of magazines, to those of the customs, and to the island of St. Bartholomew, a fresh organization.

"The harvest not having proved a good one, I have adopted means to prevent a scarcity, by causing corn to be imported from foreign countries; but in order to prevent such importation influencing the exchange, salt must be exported for grain so received. This exchange will be effected with so much the more facility, as there yet exists a sufficient provision of salt in the country for two years consumption.

"I have with grief observed, that the immoderate use and manufacture of brandy, by which the general interests are sacrificed to individual ones, corrupt the nation, and will sooner or later inevitably cause a scarcity. I have only employed exhortations on this subject, which I have collected from the paternal sentiments of your Majesty, and I leave it to other times, and to the judgment of the States, to put an end to an evil which every body acknowledges continues increasing.

"I have paid particular attention to the state and organization of the hospitals, to the religious establishments, and to the means of preventing, or at least of relieving, the condition of mendicity.

"The interiour police and agriculture have not been lost sight of; and a central academy of agriculture will shortly be established, for the purpose of giving an impulse and an encouragement to the public economy, and to scientific knowledge, which will contribute to ensure the prosperity of the State.

"The works of the canal of Gothland, that grand monument of your Majesty's reign, have been carried on with great activity. Those of the canal of Sodertelje, stopped by obstacles which the zealous efforts of the directors have not been able to surmount, have again recommenced with more rapid strides.

"I have carried into execution the solemn resolution of the States of the kingdom, sanctioned by your Majesty, regarding the national armament; but, careful not to deprive agriculture of any more arms than are indispensably necessary for the defence of our country, I have merely ordered a levy of 15,000 men, exclusive of the 50,000 which the States had placed at your Majesty's disposal. The most direful errours were carried even into Schonen, where violence and a public rebellion threatened for a moment to oppose the execution of the measures ordained. Already did our enemies, or such as are envious of our repose, begin to rejoice at our intestine dissentions; but these were soon suppressed by the united force of the army and the laws, and were succeeded by the return of national sentiment and obedience to their duty. The vacan-

cies in the new enrolment and in the national armament are almost entirely filled up, and every measure has been taken to render them useful in this employ. The regular army has been recruited, as is also the whole of the reserve new clothed, and supplied with well-conditioned arms, of which sufficient quantities are found in the magazines; and the founderies for arms have obtained a renewed activity. The making of gunpowder and saltpetre has been extended and improved, and the artillery put into a respectable condition.

"The pensions granted to officers and soldiers wounded during the war, have been either confirmed or augmented. The accounts of the expenses of the late war have been accelerated; and such measures as have been successively adopted, had no other object in view than to render the troops serviceable, and to supply them with the necessaries requisite.

"Your Majesty will deign to perceive by the statement, that notwithstanding all that the detractors of Sweden have insinuated on this head, as that it would take sixty years to organize an army of 60,000 men, yet the effecting of this will be apparent in the month of April next, both to the friends and enemies of your Majesty. The intent of this augmentation of our military force is merely defensive. Without any other ambition than that of preserving her liberty and laws, Sweden will have the means of defending herself; and she can do it. Bounded by the sea on one side, and on the other by inaccessible mountains, it is not solely on the courage of her inhabitants, nor in the remembrance of her former glory, that she has to seek for the security of her independence: it is rather to be

found in her local situation, in her mountains, her forests, in her lakes, and in her frosts. Let her therefore profit by these united advantages, and let her inhabitants be thoroughly persuaded of this truth, that if iron, the produce of their mountains, cultivates their farms, by ploughing up their fields, that it is likewise iron alone, and the firm determination of making use of it, that can defend them.

"I have been seconded in my efforts by the good spirit prevalent in the army, and by the zeal and abilities of the public functionaries.

"The magistracy has maintained its ancient reputation; it has painful duties to fulfil, but this has procured it a fresh claim to the general esteem.

"The different departments of the chancery of state have rivalled each other in giving the quickest dispatch, compatible with the formalities required by our laws and customs, to all business which has come under their cognizance.

"The secretary of state's department for church affairs has, since the 17th of March, expedited nearly 600 causes; that of the interiour, 952; that of finance and commerce, 1653; and the war department, 2535. The causes in which final decission has not yet been given, and which are confined to a very moderate number in each department, in comparison to the extent coming under their several denominations, are either of such nature as to require your Majesty's decision, or to be again brought forward for final determination.

"Should your Majesty deign to recognise, in the sketch which I have laid before you, the desire which has actuated me to deserve the high confidence you have shewn towards me, this would prove next to the joy which I feel on your Majesty's re-establishment, the most pleasing recompense for all my pains. May heaven, in accordance with my prayers, lengthen your Majesty's days; and that Sweden, protected by your virtues, Sire, may find an imperishable guarantee for her future destiny, in the absolute devotion which my heart has vowed to your Majesty, in the respectful attachment of my son, in the sanctity of the laws of the State, in the uprightness of the public functionaries, and in the union, the courage, and the patriotism of all Swedes!

"With the most sincere sentiments of attachment, and with the most profound respect, I am, Sire, your Majesty's most humble and faithful subject, and good son.

"C. JOHN.

"*Palace at Stockholm,*
"*Jan.* 7, 1812."

From this document it will be observed, that by adopting the continental system, and declaring war against Great Britain, the produce of the Swedish customs had been ruined, and her commerce reduced to a mere coasting trade; that notwithstanding her adoption of the Napoleon system, cruisers both under the French and Danish flags had committed great outrages on Swedish property. These outrages Buonaparte promised to redress, instead of which, however, the same system of injustice was pursued. It will be further remarked from this document, that at the pe-

riod of its publication, Sweden was also upon an amicable footing with Prussia, Russia, Austria, and Turkey. But the most important feature of this interesting document is, that it pointed at a system of independent neutrality.

In the same month, the Swedish minister at Paris finding that the depredations of the French privateers on Swedish vessels were daily augmenting, represented to the French minister the immense losses which thence resulted to his nation; but he could neither obtain the restoration of the captured vessels, or even the repression of the abuses for the future.

To possess a pledge that might in a degree influence the conduct of the Swedish government in the war that was breaking out at the commencement of the year 1812, Buonaparte had seized on Swedish Pomerania. In the month of January 20,000 French troops under General Friant, entered that province, and on the 26th they took possession of its capital, Stralsund.

On the Swedish commandant, Peyron, informing the French general that it was his intention to resist the occupation of the Isle of Rugen, the latter replied, that he, Peyron, was his prisoner; and immediately put seals on the custom-house. Rugen was afterwards occupied by the French, and the vessels and packets on the coast were detained for their service, and the French colours hoisted in place of the Swedish.

A fleet, with General Englebauht on board, arrived off Stralsund in the month of February, to ascertain the state of the French troops in Pomerania, and to

bring back those of Sweden, but it was permitted to have no communication whatever with the shore.

The attention of Europe was now fixed upon Sweden. Her conduct assumed a more determined aspect, and it was generally believed the Prince Royal of Sweden would become a competitor in the field with his former associate in arms, and attempt the salvation of Europe.

Great expectations of the success of the cause were therefore universally indulged on the idea, that if the Prince Royal joined the allies, it would be a decisive indication of the hopes entertained by that wary general, relative to the result of the campaign—he being fully acquainted with the personal character of Buonaparte, and with the real extent and amount of the French resources. But notwithstanding the distrust he now felt as to the views of Buonaparte, in regard to Sweden, he still appears to have desired to prevent the bloodshed and misery which was approaching the nations of the continent. On the 14th of March, 1812, the Prince Royal of Sweden, from Stockholm, addressed the following sensible and most honourable letter to Buonaparte.

"When the voice of the Swedish people called me to succeed to the throne, I hoped, on quitting France, to be always able to unite my personal affections with the interests of my new country; my heart cherished the hope that it might identify with the sentiments of this people; yet always preserving the remembrance of its first affections, and never losing sight of the glory of France, nor of the sincere attachment which it has vowed to your Majesty, an attachment founded on a

confraternity in arms, which so many great deeds have illustrated.

"It was with this hope that I arrived in Sweden; I found a nation in general attached to France, but still more so to their liberties and their laws; anxious for your friendship, Sire, but never desiring to obtain it at the expense of their honour and independence. Your Majesty's minister wished to irritate this national feeling, and his arrogance has offended every one; his communications bore no character of those regards which are mutually due from crowned heads to each other. I, fulfilling your Majesty's intentions, pleased his passions. Baron Alquier spoke like a Roman proconsul, without reflecting that he was not speaking to slaves. That minister has, therefore, been the first cause of the distrust which Sweden has begun to discover with regard to your Majesty's intentions concerning her. Subsequent events have added weight to it.

"I have already, Sire, had the honour, in my letters of the 19th November and 8th December, 1810, of giving your Imperial Majesty information of the situation of Sweden, and the desire which she had of finding in your Majesty a supporter. She could not but perceive in your Majesty's silence an unmerited indifference, and she owed it to herself to provide against the storm which was about to break out on the continent. Sire, humanity has already suffered too much. The blood of man has for the last twenty years, inundated the earth, and there is nothing wanting to your Majesty's glory but to put a stop to it.

"If your Majesty thinks proper that the King should

cause the Emperour Alexander to be informed of the possibility of a reconciliation, I augur sufficiently well, from the magnanimity of that Monarch, to dare assure you that he will willingly agree to overtures, that may be equally equitable for your empire and for the north. If an event so unexpected and so universally desired, could take place, how many nations of the continent would not bless your Majesty! Their gratitude would be augmented by reason of the horrour which inspires them against the return of a scourge which has lain so heavy on them, and the ravages of which have left such cruel traces behind it.

"The plan adhered to by the Swedish government while the success of the nothern campaign remained dubious, was dictated by the soundest policy relative to the circumstances of the country. Exhausted as Sweden was by a former war, and by no means free from party dissentions at home, the Swedish government would have exhibited the greatest imbecility if it had plunged into a dangerous quarrel before there existed the strongest grounds that the cause in which it was to engage would be finally attended with the most beneficial effects to the nation."

Shortly after the last communication from the Prince Royal to Buonaparte, the Swedish minister, Baron d'Engerstrom, addressed a letter to the Count de Niepperg, Austrian minister to the court of Stockholm, in which he observed, that Sweden would be sufficiently justified for all the engagements she might make with the enemies of France, from the menaces of that power. Her reiterated attacks upon the Swedish commerce; the carrying off nearly 100 vessels destined for friendly ports, and subject to France; from the se-

questration placed upon Swedish property in Dantzig and other ports in the Baltic; and from, at last, the invasion of Pomerania, done in contempt of treaties.

In this note the Baron also makes the following important observations:—"However just the complaints which she has against that power, she does not desire war, and she does not like to be forced to make it, even to preserve her independence and laws. Sweden is therefore ready to listen to any conciliatory propositions which shall be made to her—Justice is on her side. If Sweden was convinced that the Emperour Alexander armed to subjugate Europe, and subject every thing to the Russian system, and extend his States to the north of Germany, Sweden would not hesitate a moment to declare and fight against this ambition; she would be directed by the state principle which should make her fear the increase of so dangerous a power; but if, on the contrary, Russia only arms in her own defence, to preserve her frontiers, her ports, and even her capital, from all foreign invasion—if in it she does but obey the imperious duty of necessity, it is for the interest of Sweden not to balance a moment in defending the interests of the north, since her own are common with them.

"Sweden cannot flatter herself with being able, as a second power, to avoid that servitude with which France threatens States of the first order. A war undertaken to reconquer Finland would be in no manner for the interest of Sweden. Europe is informed of the causes which made her lose it. To undertake a war to again obtain possession of it, would be not to understand the interests of the Swedish people: this conquest would occasion expenses which Sweden is not in a con-

dition to support; and its acquisition, admitting that it could be accomplished, would never be able to balance the dangers which would result from it to her. The English, during the absence of her armies, would give her fatal blows; her ports would be burned or destroyed, and her maritime towns reduced to ashes. Besides, as soon as a change should be effected in the political system of Russia, whether after success or defeat, her ancient views upon Finland would not fail to make a disastrous war weigh heavy upon Sweden: the Gulph of Bothnia separates the two States; no motive of division exists, and the national hatred daily disappears, in consequence of the pacific dispositions of the two sovereigns.

"If France will acknowledge the armed neutrality of Sweden, a neutrality which must carry with it the right of opening her ports with equal advantages for all powers, she has no motive to interfere in the events which may take place. France engages to restore Pomerania, and in case she should refuse this restitution, which, at the same time, the rights of nations and the faith of treaties demand, his Majesty the King of Sweden accepts for this object only, the mediation of their majesties the Emperours of Austria and Russia. His Majesty will agree to a reconciliation compatible with the national honour and interests of the north. His Majesty the King of Sweden, persuaded that all the preparations made by his Majesty the Emperour Alexander are for a purely defensive purpose, and intended but to prepare for his empire that armed neutrality which Sweden wishes, in concert with Russia, to establish, engages to use all his efforts with his Imperial Majesty to prevent a rupture taking place, till a period is fixed, which will enable Swedish, French,

Austrian, and Russian plenipotentiaries to meet, and agree, in a friendly manner, upon a system of pacification, which, founded upon the said mentioned neutrality, in determining the differences now subsisting between the north and France, may insure to Europe the repose of which it has so much need.

Note from M. D'Ohsson, Swedish Charge d'Affaires, at Paris, to the Duke of Bassano, dated May 28, 1812.

"The vexations exercised by privateers under the French flag, against the commerce of Sweden, multiplying in an unheard-of proportion, and extending themselves even to provisions, must necessarity impose the sacred obligation upon the King, of endeavouring to inform himself as well as his subjects, upon the state of things, which gives to peace all the character of war. The privateer, the *Mercury*, having placed herself upon the coasts of Sweden, in order to freely commit piracies there—thus, in fact, constituting herself an enemy—was arrested in her courses, and brought into a Swedish port, through her motive of defence, which could not be understood.

"The King, who never for a moment doubted the sentiments of justice which animated his Majesty the Emperour of the French; has at different times addressed himself to that Sovereign, stating complaints respecting the conduct of the French privateers, so diametrically contrary to the nature of the relations which subsisted between the two courts, and the tenor of treaties, and even to that of the letters of marque with which the privateers were furnished. His Majesty, however, not having obtained any answer to the just demands which the interest of his people prescrib-

ed, sent, immediately upon hearing of the detention of the privateer, the Mercury, an extraordinary courier to the undersigned, for the purpose of having placed, in all its parts, under the eye of the French minister, a recapitulation of all that had passed, and what Sweden desired as a guarantee for the future. The undersigned fulfilled these orders on the 17th of last January, and that communication has likewise remained without a reply.

"In the midst of this expectation, and whilst his Majesty, hearkening but to his sentiments of esteem and friendship for his Imperial Majesty, gave himself up to the most just hopes, he learned that a very considerable corps of French troops had, on the 27th of January, entered Swedish Pomerania. The French Charge d'Affaires, resident at Stockholm, was required to explain the motives of this sudden and unexpected invasion, but he alledged that he had not the least notice of it.

"The undersigned addressed himself to the same effect to the Duke of Bassano; and received for answer, that it was requisite to wait orders from the court of Stockholm.

"These orders, confined to demanding an explanation, frank and open, respecting the intentions of his Majesty the Emperour and King, in respect to the occupation of Pomerania, were dispatched on the 4th and 7th of February, from Stockholm. These dispatches never reached the undersigned.

"The interruption of the ordinary course of letters destined for Sweden having commenced shortly after

the French invasion of Pomerania—the certainty that inquiry was made at Hamburg for funds which were there on account of Sweden, and receipts given for them—the arrest, and even sale of the Swedish ships in the ports of Mecklenburg and Dantzic, opened a vast field for conjecture. At last, to acquire some certainty relative to the state of things in Swedish Pomerania, the King sent General Engelbrichten there; but having quickly received the intelligence that General Friant refused to receive the General, or even reply, by writing, to the letter which the latter had addressed to him, his Majesty began then to believe a system followed, in ignorance of which it was wished to keep Sweden, respecting general affairs, and those which in particular related to her. Notwithstanding all these precautions and oppositions, several details concerning the conduct of the French troops in Pomerania were learned—a conduct which could with difficulty be reconciled to that friendly aspect which she seemed to wish to attach to the invasion of that province, the integrity of which, as well as that of Sweden, was guaranteed by his Majesty the Emperour, in the treaty of Paris. Public functionaries arrested, dragged to Hamburg, threatened with the most rigourous treatment, in order to make them betray their duty and their oaths; seals placed upon the King's coffers; his Majesty's ships forced, by cannon shot, to suspend their departure, and finally unladen, and sequestrated for the profit of France; heavy burthens imposed upon a country which scarcely had time to breathe from the misfortunes it had suffered; and finally, the disarming of the Swedish troops which were there: all these motives joined, must justify the King's desire of an explanation, which at the same time the dignity of sovereigns, and the stipulations of treaties subsisting between France and Swe-

den, demand. The King had no engagement with other powers which was contrary to the treaty that bound him to France, and the articles of which his Majesty was constantly endeavouring to fulfil. If the British squadron spared the coasting trade of Sweden, that conduct was gratuitous on their part, and proceeded, without doubt, from a wish of opposition in their measures to those adopted by the privateers of powers the friends of Sweden. If the Swedish vessels which carried produce from their country to the ports of Germany, made use of English licenses to escape the enemy's cruisers, they could not have expected on arriving to be confiscated, when they knew as a certain fact, that vessels from Dantzig for England had passed the Sound, furnished with licenses from the Emperour and King.

"If the King, attacked in one of his provinces, by France, then began to think of the safety of his kingdom, his Majesty flatters himself that the Emperour and King himself would not have acted otherwise in his place. One may deny every thing but existing facts; and it is therefore upon facts alone the King takes his ground.

"As an accompaniment of this exposé, his Majesty has ordered the undersigned to officially declare to the Duke of Bassano,

" 'That the King formally protests against the invasion of Pomerania by the French troops.

" 'That his Majesty cannot view this invasion but as a violation of the treaty of peace between Sweden and France; but that in consequence of the principles

of moderation which the King wishes to preserve in the proceedings of his policy, and as a proof of the continuance of his sentiments for France, his Majesty will not yet consider himself in a state of war with her, but will wait for a frank and open explanation from her government respecting the invasion of Pomerania.

" 'That to establish a perfect reciprocity in awaiting this explanation, the payment of the interest and capital of the sums due to the countries united to France, by virtue of the imperial decrees, shall be suspended; a measure which shall be continued till Swedish Pomerania be evacuated, and a good harmony re-established between the two courts.

" 'That finally, as the military occupation of Pomerania places his majesty in a situation to consider himself perfectly freed from the particular engagements which he had contracted with France, and principally from the obligation of continuing a war which Sweden only undertook in consequence of her adhesion to the continental system; an adhesion which was but the consequence of the restitution of Pomerania; the King declares, that from this moment, he considers himself in a state of neutrality in regard to France and England; that in consequence of this system adopted by his Majesty, he will employ all the means in his power to protect the neutral flag of Sweden against depredations, the duration of which has been owing to their great patience.

" 'Sweden, attached to France since the time of Francis I. desires but to be able to combine her affections with supporting the independence of the north.

The King would suffer a lively grief if he should see himself obliged to sacrifice his natural inclination to the great interests of his country, which at the same time repel slavery and disgrace: but firmly resolved to support the dignity of his crown, and the liberty of his subjects, his Majesty will tranquilly wait the ulterior development of events.'

" 'The undersigned entreats the Duke of Bassano to have the goodness to make his Majesty the Emperour and King acquainted with this note, and to communicate to the undersigned, as soon as possible, his majesty's reply.

(Signed) " 'C. D'Ohsson.' "

On the 20th of April, the King of Sweden having assembled the Diet of his kingdom at Orebro, he opened it by a speech in which he observed—"I have called you together at a moment when great and important occurrences out of our native country seem to threaten Europe with new misfortunes. Guarded by her situation from the forced obligation of paying obedience to foreign sway, which possibly might not accord with her own interests, Sweden has every thing to hope from unity, valour, and conduct; every thing to lose, if she gives herself up to intestine divisions and unwise fear:" And further, that he had "fixed his determination of going hand in hand with his son (the Prince Royal), in defiance of threats from without, and possibly of opinions at home, to maintain the liberty and independence of this ancient realm."

The Prince Royal, in his speech, addressed the following remark particularly to the burghers: "You will shew what a nation is capable of effecting when

determined to free its commercial industry of all foreign yokes."

When the Russian General Von Suchtelen was on his mission at Stockholm, Mr. Thornton, the British minister, though as yet under no public character, joined him: but shortly after the assembling of the Diet, orders were dispatched to the coast, to afford British ships in distress every assistance they might require; and Mr. Thornton was received at Orebro as the accreditted minister of Great Britain at the Swedish court.*

On the 18th of August the Swedish Diet closed with a speech† from the king, wherein he observed to them,

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* About this time, the annexed decree relative to commerce, was issued by the Swedish government:

"ART. 1. From the 15th of August, all the ports of Sweden shall be opened to vessels of every flag and nation; but every foreign vessel is only allowed to import such goods as are either produced or manufactured in that very country or its colonies.

"ART. 2. All goods imported by foreign vessels, to pay forty per cent. more duty than such as arrive in Swedish ones: every vessel acting against the above order, and importing such goods as are not derived from her home country, shall be confiscated, together with her cargo.

"ART. 3. Swedish vessels are allowed to import all goods from every place of the world. The exports are equal for Swedish as for foreign vessels."

† "It was with the height of confidence that I summoned you, good gentlemen and Swedish men, to meet and consult on matters of the greatest consequence to our native country. It is now that, with my hopes for the future being confirmed, I close your discussions. You have followed the advice of your king, and found that it was conformable with what your own hearts and the welfare of the kingdom demanded of you. Animated by the spirit of unity, you have laid aside private interest for the general well-being, and united for the defence of Sweden,

they had "shewn that a king with upright intentions and an open candour need not fear, even under foreign circumstances of great import, to rely on the deputies of his people; and that no foreign power could loosen or break those bonds of union, which bind together the heir to Sweden's throne and the free-born heirs to Sweden's soil." The King also informed the

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those powers, which, parted, would only have witnessed her degradation or her fall. *You have shewn that a King, with upright intentions and an open candour, need not to fear, even under foreign circumstances of great import, to rely on the deputies of his people;* and that no foreign power can loosen or break those bonds of union which bind together the heir to Sweden's throne and the free-born heirs to Sweden's soil. Since I last saw you assembled before me, the war on the Continent has broken out in a greater degree, and has been accompanied with all those misfortunes which are usually inseperable from it. *Confident in the maxim which has been confirmed by experience, that strong defensive preparations are the surest means to insure the peaceable situation of a State,* I have found it necessary to pay particular attention to the military force of the kingdom. My own and my son's inclination should render you assured, good gentlemen and Swedish men, *that the warlike force shall never be employed to any other purpose than to defend the honour of the nation, and the interest of our native country.*

"To defend the independence of Sweden against present shocks and future misfortunes, should be the united wish of yourselves and me. The unity of the Swedish people, the valour of her sons capable of bearing arms, my son's protecting sword, and the warm affection I bear to our native country, shall lead the way to this end. I have on this occasion, good gentlemen and Swedish men, deemed it likewise needful to inform you, that I have, on the 18th of last month, concluded a peace with the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and that the ratification of this treaty of peace was exchanged the day before yesterday. Good gentlemen of the knighthood and nobility, continue what you have been and still are, true to the memory of your forefathers, true to your joint duties, and to the great demands which your native country has upon you."

Diet, that confident in the maxim, that strong defensive preparations are the best means to ensure the peaceable situation of a State, he had found it necessary to pay a particular attention to the military force of the kingdom: and he further announced, that on the 18th of July he had concluded a peace with the King of Great Britain,* which had been ratified on the 16th of August.

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* This must allude to a treaty of commerce. The following treaty with Sweden, was signed at Stockholm on the 3d of March, 1813:

"In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity, "His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of Sweden, equally animated with the desire of drawing closer the ties of friendship and good intelligence which so happily subsist between them, and penetrated with the urgent necessity of establishing with each other a close concert for the maintenance of the independence of the North, and in order to accelerate the so much wished-for epocha of a general peace, have agreed to provide for this twofold object by the present treaty. For this purpose, they have chosen for their plenipotentiaries, namely, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty the King of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, the Hon. Alexander Hope, Major-General of his Majesty's armies; and Edward Thornton, Esq. his envoy extraordinary, and minister plenipotentiary to his Majesty the King of Sweden: and his Majesty the King of Sweden: Lawrence Count d'Engerstrom, one of the lords of the kingdom of Sweden, minister of state for foreign affairs, chancellor of the university of Lund, knight commander of the king's orders, knight of the royal order of Charles XIII. great eagle of the legion of honour of France; and Gustavus Baron de Wetterstedt, chancellor of the court, commander of the order of the polar star, one of the eighteen of the Swedish academy; who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, found in good and due forms, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. 1. His Majesty the King of Sweden engages to

After the speech from the King, the Prince Royal addressed the Diet, in which he commended the coolness maintained in the deliberations of that assembly,

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employ a corps of not less than 30,000 men in a direct operation upon the Continent against the common enemies of the two contracting parties. This army shall act in concert with the Russian troops placed under the command of his Royal Highness the Prince Royal of Sweden, according to stipulations to this effect already existing between the courts of Stockholm and St. Petersburgh.

"Art. 2. The said courts have communicated to his Britannic Majesty the engagements subsisting between them, and having formally demanded his said Majesty's accession thereto, and his Majesty the King of Sweden having, by the stipulations contained in the preceding article given a proof of the desire which animates him to contribute also on his part to the success of the common cause; his Britannic Majesty being desirous, in return, to give an immediate and unequivocal proof of his resolution to join his interests to those of Sweden and Russia, promises and engages by the present treaty to accede to the conventions already existing between these two powers, insomuch that his Britannic Majesty will not only oppose any obstacles to the annexation and union in perpetuity of the kingdom of Norway as an integral part to the kingdom of Sweden, but also will assist the views of his Majesty the King of Sweden to that effect, either by his good offices, or by employing, if it should be necessary, his naval co-operation in concert with the Swedish or Russian forces. It is nevertheless to be understood, that recourse shall not be had to force for effecting the union of Norway to Sweden, unless his Majesty the King of Denmark shall have previously refused to join the alliance of the North, upon the conditions stipulated in the engagements existing between the courts of Stockholm and St. Petersburgh; and his Majesty the King of Sweden engages, that this union shall take place with every possible regard and consideration for the happiness and liberty of the people of Norway.

"Art. 3. In order to give more effect to the engagements contracted by his Majesty the king of Sweden, in the first article of the present treaty, which have for its object, direct operations against the common enemies of

"amidst the din of arms resounding from the Dwina to the Tagus and the animosity of their neighbours." —He also added, "that should there be no hope for

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the two powers, and in order to put his Swedish Majesty in a state to begin without loss of time, and as soon as the season shall permit, the said operations, his Britanic Majesty engages to furnish to his Majesty the king of Sweden, (independently of other succours which general circumstances may place at his disposal) for the service of the campaign of the present year, as well as for the equipment, the transport, and maintenance of his troops, the sum of one million sterling, payable at London monthly, to the agent who shall be authorized by his Swedish Majesty to receive the same, in such manner as not to exceed the payment of 200,000l. sterling each month, until the whole shall be paid.

"Art. 4. It is agreed between the two high contracting parties, that an advance, of which the amount and time of payment shall be determined between them, and which is to be deducted from the million before stipulated, shall be made to his Majesty the King of Sweden for the 'mise en campaigne,' and for the first march of the troops; the remainder of the before-mentioned succours are to commence from the day of the landing of the Swedish army, as it is stipulated by the two high contracting parties in the first article of the present treaty.

"Art. 5. The two high contracting parties being desirous of giving a solid and lasting guarantee to their relations, as well political as commercial, his Britanic Majesty, animated with a desire to give to his ally evident proofs of his sincere friendship, consents to cede to his Majesty the king of Sweden, and to his successours to the crown of Sweden, in the order of succession established by his said Majesty and the States-general of his kingdom, under date the 26th September, 1810, the possession of Guadalope in the West Indies, and to transfer to his Swedish Majesty all the right of his Britannic Majesty over that island, in so far as his said Majesty actually possesses the same. This colony shall be given up to the commissioners of his Majesty the King of Sweden, in the course of the month of August of the present year, or three months after the landing of the Swedish troops on the continent; the whole to take place according to the conditions agreed upon between the two high

Sweden pursuing her way in peace, then will your king have recourse to your manly courage, and our watch-word shall be—God, liberty, and our native country."

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contracting parties, in the separate article annexed to the present treaty.

"Art. 6. As a reciprocal consequence of what has been stipulated in the preceding article, his Majesty the King of Sweden engages to grant, for the space of twenty years, to take date from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, the right of entrepôt in the ports of Gottenburg, Carlshamn, and Stralsund, (whenever this last-mentioned place shall return under the Swedish dominion,) for all commodities, productions, or merchandize, whether of Great Britain or her colonies, laden on board British or Swedish vessels. The said commodities or merchandize, whether they be of such kind as may be introduced and subject to duty in Sweden, or whether their introduction be prohibited, shall pay without distinction, as duty of entrepôt, one per cent. ad valorem, upon entry, and the same upon discharge. As to every other particular relating to this object, the general regulations existing in Sweden shall be conformed to; treating always the subjects of his Britannic Majesty upon the footing of the most favoured nations.

"Art. 7. From the day of the signature of the present treaty, his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of Sweden, reciprocally promise not to separate their mutual interests, and particularly those of Sweden, which are referred to in the present treaty, in any negotiation whatever with their common enemies.

"Art. 8. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged at Stockholm within four weeks, or sooner, if possible.

"In faith of which, we, the undersigned, in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present treaty, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.

"Done at Stockholm, the 3d March, in the year of our Lord, 1813.

"Alex. Hope. (L. S.)
"Edw. Thornton. (L. S.)
"Le Comte D'Engerstrom. (L. S.)
"G. Baron De Wetterstedt. (L. S.)

A treaty had now for some time been commenced between the latter power and Russia. It has already been stated, that a Russian general was at Stockholm for the purpose of opening a treaty. Some difficulty, however, having arisen between the negotiators, a per-

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Separate Article.

"As a consequence of the cession made by his Britannic Majesty, in the fifth article of the treaty signed this day, of the island of Guadaloupe, his Majesty the King of Sweden engages,

"1. Faithfully to fulfil and observe the stipulations of the capitulation of the said island, under the date of 5th February, 1810, so that all the privileges, rights, benefices, and prerogatives, confirmed by that act to the inhabitants of the colony, shall be preserved and maintained.

"2. To take for this purpose, previous to the cession before-mentioned, every engagement which may be judged necessary with his Britannic Majesty, and to execute all acts conformable thereto.

"3. To grant to the inhabitants of Guadaloupe the same protection and the same advantages which the other subjects of his majesty the King of Sweden enjoy, conformably always to the laws and stipulations actually existing in Sweden.

"4. To forbid and prohibit, at the period of the cession, the introduction of slaves from Africa into the said island, and the other possessions in the West Indies of his Swedish Majesty, and not to permit Swedish subjects to engage in the slave trade, an engagement which his Swedish Majesty is the more willing to contract, as this traffic has never been authorized by him.

"5. To exclude, during the continuance of the present war, all armed vessels and privateers belonging to States at war with Great Britain, from the ports and harbours of Guadaloupe; and not to permit in any future wars in which Great Britain may be engaged, and Sweden remain neutral, the entrance into the ports of the said colony of the privateers belonging to any of the belligerent States.

"6. Not to alienate the said island without the consent of his Britannic Majesty; and,

"7. To grant every protection and security to British subjects, and to their property, whether they may choose to quit the colony or to remain there.

sonal interview between the Emperour of Russia and the Prince Royal of Sweden was deemed necessary, in order to produce a speedy and final adjustment.

"This separate article shall have the same force and effect as if it were inserted, word for word, in the treaty signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

"Alex. Hope. (L. S.)
"Edw. Thornton. (L. S.)
"Le Comte D'Engerstrom. (L. S.)
"G. Baron De Wetterstedt. (L. S.)

The following is the substance of engagements entered into between the courts of St. Petersburg and Stockholm, signed at St. Petersburg the 24th of March, 1812, so far as the same are referred to in the treaty between his Majesty the King of Great Britain and the King of Sweden, signed at Stockholm on the 3d of March, 1813.

"The object of the Emperour of Russia and the King of Sweden, in forming an alliance, is stated to be for the purpose of securing reciprocally their States and possessions against the common enemy.

"The French government having, by the occupation of Swedish Pomerania committed an act of hostility against the Swedish government, and by the movements of its armies, having menaced the tranquillity of the empire of Russia, the contracting parties engage to make a diversion against France and her allies, with a combined force of twenty-five or thirty thousand Swedes, and of fifteen or twenty thousand Russians, upon such point of the coast of Germany as may be judged most convenient for that purpose.

"As the King of Sweden cannot make this diversion in favour of the common cause consistently with the security of his own dominions, so long as he can regard the kingdom of Norway as an enemy, his Majesty the Emperour of Russia engages, either by negotiation or by military co-operation, to unite the kingdom of Norway to Sweden. He engages, moreover, to guarantee the peaceable possession of it to his Swedish Majesty.

"The two contracting parties engage to consider the acquisition of Norway by Sweden as a preliminary military operation to the diversion on the coast of Germany, and the Emperour of Russia promises to place for this object, at the disposal and under the immediate orders of

These personages met at Abo, in Finland, on the 28th of August: the Emperour of Russia had arrived there some days earlier, but immediately the Prince Royal reached Abo, he waited on him, and banishing all ceremony, a conference took place, which lasted four hours.*

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the Prince Royal of Sweden, the corps of Russian troops above stipulated.

"The two contracting parties being unwilling, if it can be avoided, to make an enemy of the King of Denmark, will propose to that sovereign to accede to this alliance, and will offer to his Danish Majesty to procure for him a complete indemnity for Norway, by a territory more contiguous to his German dominions, provided his Danish Majesty will accede for ever his rights on the kingdom of Norway to the King of Sweden.

"In case his Danish Majesty shall refuse this offer, and shall have decided to remain in alliance with France, the two contracting parties engage to consider Denmark as their enemy.

"As it has been expressly stipulated that the engagements of his Swedish Majesty to co-operate with his troops in Germany, in favour of the common cause, shall not take effect until after Norway shall have been acquired by Sweden, either by the cession of the King of Denmark, or in consequence of military operations, his Majesty the King of Sweden engages to transport his army into Germany, according to a plan of campaign to be agreed upon, as soon as the above object shall have been attained.

"His Britannic majesty to be invited by both powers to accede to and to guarantee the stipulation contained in the said treaty.

"By a subsequent convention, signed at Abo, the 30th of August, 1812, the Russian auxiliary force was to be carried to 35,000 men."

* All their attendants were excluded, and only Lord Catheart, the British minister, permitted to be present. Madame la Baronne de Staël, in her "Appeal to the nations of Europe," observes, "that in the interview between the Emperour Alexander and the Prince Royal of Sweden, to whom the King confided the secrets of the State, the two nations cast all former animosities between them into oblivion forever; and as the Prince Regent of

The result of this conference was highly satisfactory to both parties, and both agreed to make common cause against the measures of Napoleon; but with a view to the security of Sweden, it was stipulated that Norway should be in the first instance conquered for Sweden, and that afterwards a diversion by a conjoint force should be made on the Continent.

The measures adopted by Sweden,* in 1812, had a considerable influence upon the campaign of the year.

England had also a representative there, the unanimity of three such magnanimous sovereigns proclaims the development of a policy contrary to the subtilty of egotism, a conduct full of loyalty, liberality, and of enlightened patriotism."

* The following very interesting report, dated Stockholm, January 7th, 1813, was addressed to the King of Sweden, by M. D'Engerstrom, his minister for foreign affairs, on the political relations between Sweden and France during the last two years.—The correspondence between the French minister at Stockholm, and the Swedish governour, which took place on December, 1812, is also annexed.

"Sire,

"I this day execute the orders which your majesty gave me, to lay before you a report on the political relations between Sweden and France for the last two years.

"Nothing does more honour to a nation, than the publicity which the government gives to its diplomatic acts; and nothing is better calculated to consolidate harmony between a monarch and his people, than a frank communication of the secrets of policy. Every patriot will find in the statement which your Majesty has ordered me to make, a new proof of the esteem of his sovereign, for his information, and his love of the country.

The relations of Sweden with Great Britain, had not yet, at the end of November, 1810, assumed a character of open hostility. The commerce of Sweden, though limited in its activity, especially by the peace of Paris, was not yet, thanks to the moderation of the English cabinet, entirely interrupted.

"The manifestations of ill-will on the part of France,

The troops assembled in Swedish ports, kept a considerable enemy's force in the north of Germany, and by releasing Russia from its previous engagements,

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which during the course of 1810, had often threatened to become serious pretensions, at first appeared confined to the riged maintenance of the continental system in Pomerania; but they were at last openly directed against Sweden, and a demand was even made to exclude the Americans from our ports. Your Majesty, however, succeeded by perseverance and moderation in averting the consequences.

"It was nevertheless to be presumed, that this fortunate situation, affording Sweden the means of recruiting her strength exhausted by a destructive war, would not be of long duration. The Emperour Napoleon, had laid down for subjugated Europe a peremptory rule, that he would acknowledge as friends only, the enemies of Britain; that neutrality, formerly the bulwark of the weaker states, amidst the contests of the most powerful, no longer had any real meaning; and that all the combinations of policy, every feeling of dignity, must disappear before the omnipotence of arms, and an unbending will.

"In the beginning of November, 1810, and a few days before the separation of the states of the realm, a dispatch* arrived from the Baron de Lagerbjelke at Paris. It detailed a conversation which he had with the Emperour of the French; the result of which was, that your Majesty would have to choose between the interruption of your relations with France, and a formal declaration of war against England. Baron Alquier, the French minister at Stockholm, presented a note to the same effect, and demanded a categorical answer within five days, threatening to quit Sweden should the government not obey the will of his master.

"When your Majesty at a moment so urgent, took a view of the internal and external situation of your kingdom, you saw no means which could enable you to adopt a free decision. The continental powers then followed solely the impulse of France; and the season of the year removed every hope of being assisted by England, in the event of the kingdom being attacked during the course of the winter. The shortness of the term fixed for returning an answer, did not admit of ascertaining the senti-

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* *Vide* page 136.

the Swedish government set at liberty a force of 18,000 men, which were assembled in Poland, and which was sent to join General Witgenstein's army,

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ments of the neighbouring States; and the resources of the realm, both in money, and in the means of defence, were so limited, that there was no flattering prospect of being able to secure the integrity and independence of Sweden. The Prince Royal, penetrated with the necessity of saving the State, imposed silence on his affections, and solemnly declared, that your Majesty ought to dismiss all consideration of this peculiar situation, and of his past connexions, and that he would execute with zeal and fidelity whatever your Majesty might enjoin for maintaining the honour and independence of the kingdom.

"Your Majesty wishing to reserve for a more convenient opportunity, the efficacious resource conveyed in the declaration of the Prince Royal, considered it as an imperious duty to yield for a moment to the storm; flattering yourself, that the Emperour Napolen would not all at once endanger the last resources of Sweden, by rigorously exacting open hostilities with Great Britain.

"However, scarcely was the declaration of war against England published, and the commerce of Sweden abandoned to the discretion of the British cabinet, when the French minister began to develop a plan, pursued without interruption, to cause Sweden to take upon herself the same obligations which have brought so many misfortunes on the confederated States. A considerable body of seamen was at first demanded for the purpose of manning the French fleet at Brest—next, a corps of Swedish troops to be in the pay of France, the introduction into Sweden, of a tariff of 50 per cent. on colonial produce—and, finally, the establishment of French douaniers at Gottenburgh. All these demands, having been rejected, the consequence was, that the measures of the French government towards Sweden soon assumed a hostile character.

"Shortly after his arrival, M. Alquier spoke of the necessity of a closer alliance between Sweden and France; and though he received a polite answer, this reply had no effect. He then proposed an alliance between Sweden, Denmark, and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, under the protection and guarantee of France. This proposal had for its object to create a confederation of the north, simi-

and afterwards contributed materially to the destruction of the French army on the Berezina:

Early in May, 1813, the Crown Prince of Sweden, accompanied by his only son, Prince Oscar, visited

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lar in its obligations and object to that which combined the strength of Germany under the French domination.—But your Majesty deeming it conformable neither to your situation nor your duties to acquiesce, the old proposal for a separate alliance with France was speedily renewed. Though M. Alquier announced only verbally this desire of his master, he yet demanded an answer in writing, and affected to view the difficulty of obtaining it as a mark of indifference towards the French system on the part of the Swedish government.

"Your majesty could doubtless have required, that a more ample, and especially a written communication should be made to you, on the subject of this projected alliance; and though you had reason to fear that the demands of a written answer to a verbal overture, had no other object than that it might be shewn at St. Petersburg, to prove that Sweden was wholly dependent on France, yet you resolved to overlook these considerations, and to neglect no means that might excite a regard for Sweden in the French Emperour. A note was, therefore, sent to the Minister Alquier, in which your Majesty discovered a disposition to establish the most intimate relations with France, in the hope that the conditions would be compatible with the dignity and true interests of your kingdom.

"M. Alquier immediately declared, that this answer meant nothing, that it also conveyed the impression of your Majesty having previously determined to remain independent of the continental system; and when, in order to be able to give him a more ample reply, he was asked what the Emperour required of Sweden, and what that country could promise itself in compensation for the new sacrifices which might be the result of the French claims,—that minister confined himself to the extraordinary answer, 'that his master required, in the first instance, deeds conformable to his system; after which it was possible that what his Imperial Majesty was inclined to do in favour of Sweden, might become the subject of discussion.'

"In the meanwhile, the season fit for navigation ar-

Stockholm. He reviewed the troops there assembled for embarkation, and afterwards went down the river to inspect the British transports, when the British

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rived, and with it the capture of Swedish vessels by French privateers. Your Majesty's minister at Paris demanded redress for the injuries done to Swedish commerce; representations, with the same object, were addressed to the minister Alquier: his answers were impressed with all the marks of that character of dictator, which he had resolved to play in Sweden.

"Your Majesty, whose firm resolution it was faithfully to fulfil the engagements you had contracted, watched over the scrupulous observation of the orders issued against the commerce of England. Yet the French journals periodically insulted the Swedish government, and displayed with emphasis the immensity of the Swedish commerce. The considerable diminution of the produce of the customs in 1811. attests the exaggeration and falsehood of these imputations.

"If the English government viewed with a tranquil eye the situation of Sweden, and did not consider her declaration of war as a sufficient motive for directing hostilities against Swedish commerce—if this tolerant system facilitated to a certain degree a vent for the immense stores of our native iron, and so far obviated the pernicious effects of the war—your Majesty still ought not to have expected that the French government would have built its accusations against Sweden on the forbearance of England: your Majesty was, on the contrary, rather entitled to hope, that the French Emperour would see with satisfaction this kingdom treated with forbearance, by a power which had so many means of annoying Sweden.

"In the meantime the depredations of the French privateers on Swedish vessels were daily augmenting: your Majesty's minister at Paris represented in suitable terms the immense losses which thence resulted to the nation: but far from obtaining the restoration of the captured vessels, and the repression of such abuses for the future, the prize courts almost always decided in favour of the captors. It is true, the equity of the case appeared in some instances so manifest to these tribunals, that their decisions were favourable to the Swedes; but the French government, which reserved to itself the right of enforc-

ships of war and packets manned their yards, and fired a royal salute.

After the embarkation of the troops, the Prince Royal proceeded to Carlscrona, and from thence took

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ing these decisions, never confirmed one of them in favour of Sweden. The privateers being thus secure of impunity, had an open field for exercising their piracies. Not satisfied with condemning as good prizes, Swedish vessels, under the pretence that they were provided with English licenses,—with capturing in the Sound small coasting vessels, laden with provisions, and the produce of our native manufactures; with seizing such as were in German ports, waiting for cargoes—the Swedish seamen were even treated as prisoners of war: they were put in irons, and sent off to Antwerp and Toulon, there to serve in the French fleets.

"Disagreeable and almost daily disputes had taken place in the course of the summer 1811, between the regency of Pomerania and the vice-consul of France. To preserve that province from the arrival of French troops, a considerable military force was there levied, on the express demand of Napoleon, and to the great detriment of the country; and the most scrupulous vigilance was there observed with regard to the illicit commerce in colonial produce. In spite of such submissions, it was totally impossible to satisfy the daily increasing pretensions of the French vice-consul. A quarrel which took place between the crew of a French privateer and some militia recruits, which it was clearly proved, the Frenchmen had commenced by outraging and attacking the Pomeranian soldiers, was nevertheless regarded at Paris as an infraction of Peace; and it was exacted by way of reparation that your Majesty's soldiers should be punished with death.

In the month of July, M. Alquier presented an official note, the contents and outrageous style of which called forth a reply, which reminded him of the respect he owed to the nation, and those decencies which should be reciprocal between sovereigns. Alquier had the presumption to declare that he could no longer communicate with me, and demanded that another individual should be appointed to correspond with him.

"From that moment all official communication with M. Alquier ceased; nevertheless the language of the Duke of

his departure for Stralsund on the 14th of May. Before he left Carlscrona, the Prince Royal published the following farewell address to the Swedish army in the interiour:

Bassano appeared still likely to promise some change in the policy of France towards Sweden. It gave his Majesty satisfaction to believe that he saw one proof of this in the recall of that minister—a recall which had been formally demanded; but scarcely had the season of the year removed the English fleet from the Baltic, when the French privateers renewed their acts of violence with more activity than ever. Your Majesty then felt himself under the necessity of ordering your marine to seize those pirates who had annoyed our commerce from port to port, and had made Swedish prizes. Many French privateers, which insulted our coasts, were chased: one, called the Mercury, was taken.

"Your Majesty, afflicted at thus seeing your subjects mal-treated, and their commerce in the bosom of the most solemn peace, ordered a courier to proceed to Paris with a detailed account of all the losses which the Swedish commerce had suffered; and the demand was renewed of a guarantee, for the future, against the rapacity of privateers. The Mercury and her crew were placed at the disposal of the French chargé d'affaires at Stockholm.

"Your Majesty's chargé d'affaires at Paris, executed the orders he had received. The ministry of France gave hopes that the representations of Sweden would be listened to, and that the injuries of which she complained would be examined with impartial justice. While your Majesty was cherishing the consoling hope of seeing all grounds of difference between the two courts at last disappear, by a faithful and generous explanation from the French government, your Majesty learned, that at the very commencement of autumn the Prince of Eckmuhl, commanding the French troops in the North of Germany, had announced that he would cause his troops to enter Pomerania and the Isle of Rugen as soon as the ice would permit him. The instructions which the Swedish commandant had received, satisfied your Majesty that your troops would defend your German possessions against every foreign aggression. But, unfortunately, cunning prevailed over duty; the courage of the Swedish

The Prince Royal, Generalissimo, to his Brethren in Arms in the Interiour:

"Soldiers!

"The King, in directing me to go and take the command of his army in Pomerania, has charged me to

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troops was paralyzed by the weakness of their chief, and Pomerania was invaded. The events which took place in that province had been made public, in order that it might be impossible for any one to mistake the true nature of that extraordinary measure, and the friendly demeanour which France affected to influence the opinion which must necessarily have been excited by so profligate an enterprize.

"The entrance of the French troops into Pomerania was immediately followed by the arrest of your Majesty's functionaries in that province. They were conducted to the prisons of Hamburg, where they were threatened with death. It was in vain attempted by seductive promises to induce them to break their oaths. The last resources of the province were exhausted by enormous contributions; the vessels of yourMajesty were compelled, by cannon shot, to remain in the ports of Pomerania, and were there equipped; the public offices were occupied by French agents; and, finally, two Swedish regiments were disarmed, and sent into France as prisoners of war.

"While these hostile proceedings took place in Pomerania, the Swedish mails were seized at Hamburg, and secret inquisitions were made in order to discover the sums which Swedish subjects possessed there. Your Majesty's chargé d'affaires at Paris, deprived of all communications with Sweden, soon learned, by public report, the certainty of the entrance of the French troops into Pomerania. He, in consequence, presented a note to the Duke of Bassano, to obtain explanations with regard to that occupation. He was asked whether he made this representation in pursuance of orders from his court; and having declared, that in a matter of so much importance he had thought it his duty to anticipate the orders of the King his master, the Duke of Bassano observed to him, that it was necessary to wait for them, before he could give any explanation on the principal object.

leave in Sweden two corps of the army sufficiently numerous to ensure the safety of the frontiers of the kingdom, and to act offensively wherever the honour

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"In this state of affairs it became the first care of your Majesty to ascertain the disposition of the powers whose influence was most interesting to Sweden, and by new alliances to provide for future security.

"The silence of the French cabinet continued, and every thing announced an approaching rupture between that power and Russsia. The season approached when the British fleets would revisit the Baltic, and there was reason to presume that the British ministry, in return for the tolerance granted to Swedish commerce, would demand a conduct on our part more decidedly pacific. Your Majesty, in consequence, saw yourself at once exposed to the resentment of the Emperour Napoleon, or to the hostilities of Great Britain, and to the aggressions of the court of Russia. Denmark had already assumed a menacing attitude.

"The vessel of the State was exposed to the uncertain destinies of the future; treaties, weak in themselves, and already broken, were the guarantee of its existence. The glorious name of the Prince Royal re-animated the national courage, and the Swedes recollected, that after having defended their liberty on their own shores, they had known how to pass beyond them in pursuit of tyranny. Thus the love of independence saved the country from the precipice from which it was about to be plunged.

"Your Majesty, convinced of the danger into which you had been drawn by the rapid march of events, judged, that it was time to come to an accommodation with the English cabinet, and to open yourself to that of Russia, with a noble frankness. Your Majesty with pleasure saw the Marquis Wellesley, then minister for foreign affairs, disposed to receive your proposals, and impressed with the dangers, which, at that period, impended over Europe. Some time after, you concluded at Orebro, a treaty of peace with England, advantageous to both countries; and the relations of amity were drawn closer with Russia, by a new compact, the execution of which must place Sweden in security from all the commotions of continental politics.

"Your Majesty looked upon the ignorance in which the

and interests of the country require. They will be commanded by Marshals Toll and Essen. Give them all your confidence—you owe it to their services, their patriotism, and their experience.

Emperour of the French had left Sweden, as a proof of his determination to drag her despotically into his continental system, from which she found herself naturally detached by the seizure of Pomerania. Your Majesty beheld also a striking example in the fate which a German power, the friend of Sweden, had undergone,—which, after being long left in uncertainty. whether its offers to contract an alliance would be accepted, was all at once overwhelmed by French troops, and compelled to surrender at discretion.

"After the annexation of the Duchy of Oldenburg to the French empire, it was known, with certainty, that differences both on that point and on the continental system, had taken place between the courts of France and Russia; and that the preparations for war, which were made on both sides, would easily lead to open hostilities. France, however, had still never testified the smallest desire, nor made any overture to your Majesty, tending to engage Sweden in a war with Russia.

"Meanwhile, though all friendly relations must have been regarded as broken by the occupation of Pomerania, the following proposition was made, not officially, but through a channel not less authentic, on the part of the Emperour Napoleon. After giving a long exposition of the so often dwelt-upon deviations of Sweden from a strict observance of the continental system, which, it was said, had at last compelled the Emperour to cause his troops to enter Pomerania, without, however, occupying it, his Majesty demanded—

" 'That a new declaration of war should be made against England: that all communication with English cruizers should be severely prohibited: that the coasts of the Sound should be armed with batteries; the fleet equipped, and English vessels fired upon with artillery.

" 'That, besides, Sweden should set on foot an army of from 30 to 40,000 men, to attack Russia at the moment when hostilities should commence between that power and France.

" 'To indemnify Sweden, the Emperour promised to her the restitution of Finland.

"In separating from my King, my Son, and from you for some time, it is not to disturb the repose of nations, but to co-operate in the great work of a general

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" 'His Imperial Majesty would also bind himself to purchase colonial produce, to the amount of 20 millions of francs, on condition that payment should not be made till the goods were landed at Dantzig or Lubeck.

" 'Finally, his Imperial Majesty would permit Sweden to participate in all the rights and advantages enjoyed by the States of the Rhenish confederation.'

"Your Majesty at once perceived the immense difference which existed between the sacrifices thus demanded, and the indemnification which the kingdom could promise itself. You could not overlook the fact, that a state of active warfare with Russia, the necessary consequences of which would be open hostilities with Britain, surpassed the strength and resources of Sweden; that the presence of an English fleet in the Baltic would paralyze, during summer, the Swedish operations: and that besides, since the treaty with Russia, there existed no ground of complaint against that power; that in the mean time our coasts and ports would be abandoned to the vengeance of England; that the complete stagnation of commerce, and the interruption of the coasting trade, would occasion general misery; that the pressing wants of Sweden in respect of grain, imperiously required pacific relations, both with Russia and England; that the sudden termination of war between France and Russia would infallibly leave Sweden without any augmentation of territory, especially if the Swedish army, in consequence of the war with England, was prevented from leaving its own confines; and that moreover, these preparations, and a single year of war, would require an expenditure of from twelve to fifteen millions of rix-dollars. A multitude of other considerations determined your Majesty to look to nothing but the happiness of your subjects, and the prosperity of your kingdom; and with this view your Majesty opened your ports to the flags of all nations.

"The efforts of France to engage Sweden in open war with England and Russia, were not confined to those I have just now mentioned. The Austrian minister at your Majesty's court, received by a courier from Prince Schwartzenburg, the Austrian ambassadour at the French court, the account of an alliance concluded at Paris, on

peace, for which Sovereigns and nations have sighed for so many years.

"Soldiers!—A new career of glory, and sources of prosperity, are opening to our country. Treaties

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the 14th of March last, between France and that power. Prince Schwartzenburg charged the minister of his court at Stockholm, in communicating this information to your Majesty's ministers, to employ all his influence to induce Sweden to take part in the war against Russia. Your Majesty replied to this as you had done to the former proposition, by declaring that you wished to preserve the tranquility of your kingdom, and that you accepted the mediation of the Emperours of Austria and Russia, in all that regarded the unjust invasion of Pomerania; that besides, your Majesty offered, if it was agreeable to the Emperour Napoleon, to write to the court of Russia, to endeavour to prevent the effusion of blood, till Swedish, Russian, French, and Austrian plenipotentiaries could assemble, for the purpose of settling the disputes which had arisen.

"Events having proved that these offers were not accepted by the Emperour of the French, your Majesty considered it as a sacred duty to place your kingdom in a state of defence: and you employed for that purpose a portion of the resources which your faithful states of the realm had placed at your disposal, in order to cause the national independence to be respected and maintained.

"The long experience of times past, and the examples of the present, sanctioned the measures of prudence which your Majesty has taken for the security and integrity of your States.

"A note had been already addressed to M. de Cabre, the French chargé d'Affaires, to demand of him an explanation with regard to the seizure of Pomerania. He was invited to declare whether he resided at Stockholm as the agent of a friendly or hostile power? Many months having elapsed without an answer, and some dark intrigues, incompatible with the law of nations, having taken place, M. de Cabre was dismissed.

"At a moment when all the powers surrounding Sweden have increased their military force to a point hitherto unexampled, your Majesty has also been obliged to sub-

founded upon sound policy, and which have the tranquillity of the North for their object, guarantee the union of the people of Scandinavia. Let us make

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mit to the imperious necessity of the times; and having nothing in view but the prosperity and happiness of Sweden, you have prepared the means which may place it in a situation to depend substantially on its own force, and that of the governments its friends. If, to attain this object, some sacrifices are necessary, your good Swedish people will zealously second your Majesty; for they have always been the firm support of monarchs who respected their liberty.

"Ancient habits had long induced Sweden to consider France as her natural ally; this opinion of times past—these impressions generally received, long acted powerfully on the mind of your Majesty; farther fortified by the regard of the Prince Royal towards his former country—a regard, however, always subordinate in his heart to his duties towards Sweden, that when France wished to interdict peninsular Sweden from traversing the seas which almost surround her and to deprive her of the right of ploughing the waves which wash her shores, it became the duty of government to defend the rights and interests of the nation—to escape the situation of those powers, which, by their submission to France, find themselves without ships, without commerce, and without finances. The alliance of France, while it exacts in the first instance the loss of independence, conducts by degrees to all sacrifices which annihilate the prosperity of a State. In order to become her ally, it is necessary to have no connextion with England, and to make good the loss of the revenues of customs, and of the profits of commerce, by imposts always increasing, for the purpose of supporting the wars into which her capricious polities have drawn her during the last eight years. Had Sweden submitted to the wishes of France, then Swedes would have been seen in Spain, in like manner as we now see there Germans, Italians, and Poles. They would have been seen even in Turkey, had Napoleon conquered the Emperour Alexander.

"If, to secure the destinies of Sweden, by procuring for it safety for the present, and security for the future, your Majesty is compelled to put your armies in motion, it will not be with a view of conquering provincies unless

ourselves worthy of the splendid destiny that is promised us; and let not the people who stretch out their arms to us, have ever cause to repent their confidence.

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to the prosperity of the Scandinavian peninsula. The independence of that peninsula is the constant object of your Majesty's cares; and no sacrifice must be reckoned too costly by the Swedes to attain that great and important result. Your Majesty has rejected the degrading treaty which it was wished to make you subscribe; you have placed yourself above a subservient and versatile policy; and you have not feared to make your appeal on the question to the courage, the loyalty, the patriotism, and the honour of the nation. Your Majesty has formed a just opinion of the Swedes, and your reward is in the unbounded confidence which they have placed in your wisdom.

"The vessel of the state, navigating a stormy sea, and assailed by the tempest, was long in danger of shipwreck; your Majesty took the helm, and seconded by your son, you have had the happiness, in spite of the shoals with which her route was interspersed, to bring her into port. I present this sketch in order to enlighten those persons, who, always uneasy with regard to their future fate, feel alarmed at the slightest adverse occurrence, and imagine that they have reached land only to enjoy in peace all the conveniencies of life. Your Majesty has promised liberty to the Swedes; you will keep your word. The cottage of the poor, as well as the palace of the rich shall enjoy that inestimable blessing. Arbitrary authority, can never penetrate thither; and by night as well as by day, the law shall guard all its approaches. Proud of their rights, united to their Sovereign; the Swedes will march to meet their enemies. The recollection of their illustrious ancestors, and the justice of their cause, shall be pledges of their success. I am, with the most profound respect,

(Signed) LAWRENCE ENGERSTROM.

Stockholm, Jan. 7, 1813."

Note from Baron D'Engerstrom to M. de Cabre, Chargé d'Affaires, from France at Stockholm, dated December 20, 1812.

"From the moment in which the invasion of Swedish Pomerania by the French troops, contrary to the faith

"Soldiers!—Our ancestors distinguished themselves by their bold daring, and their steady courage. Let us unite to these warlike virtues the enthusiasm of military honour, and God will protect our arms.

"CHARLES JOHN.

"*At Carlscrona, May* 8, 1813."

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of treaties, and the most solemn engagements, made known the full extent of his Majesty the Emperour Napoleon's intention with respect to Sweden, the King, justly astonished at this unexpected aggression, did but reiterate his requests to obtain a free and loyal explanation from him, whilst the French government only replied to them by fresh acts of hostility, his Majesty believed, that if force gives rights, as the misfortune of our times sufficiently attest, the cause of justice, and the sentiments of his own dignity, might also demand some of them.

"He has not thus seen with indifference, one of his provinces occupied by the same power which had guaranteed the integrity of it; the troops which the King had left there declared prisoners of war, and as such carried to France; as well as the continual depredations of French privateers against Swedish commerce.

"His Majesty, in consequence, charged M. de Bergstedt, in the month of August last, and particularly the undersigned, to officially address M. de Cabre; at first to demand the reasons which had caused the said hostilities; and lastly, to declare to him, that as his court, after a long delay, would not explain on this head, and likewise gave it to be understood, that it would not return to a more pacific system with respect to Sweden, M. de Cabre could no longer be regarded as the agent of a friendly power; and that his diplomatic relations with the King's ministers would cease till the time that the explanations demanded of the cabinet of the Thuilleries should be received.

"More than three months have elapsed since that epoch, and the French government continuing always the same silence, the King has thought it due to himself and to his people, not to depend upon an explanation which, besides, so many actions appear to render illusory.

"Upon these considerations, and upon others at least as important, the undersigned has received the orders of

On the 17th of May the Prince Royal landed at Monasgut, near Perth, and passed the night at the castle of Puthus: the next day he arrived at Stralsund,

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the King his master, to declare to M. de Cabre, that his presence here becoming absolutely useless under actual circumstances, he desires you should quit Sweden as soon as possible; and the undersigned has the honour of sending you inclosed, the necessary passports for your journey.

The undersigned has the honour, &c.

(Signed) "Baron D'Engerstrom."

Copy of a Letter from M. de Cabre, Chargé d'Affaires from his Majesty the Emperour of the French, King of Italy, at the court of Stockholm, to his Excellency the Baron d'Engerstrom, chief minister of state to his Swedish Majesty, dated Stockholm, December 21, 1812.

"The undersigned Chargé d'Affaires to his Majesty the Emperour of the French, King of Italy, has received the official note, which his Excellency M. the Baron D'Engerstrom addressed to him yesterday, the 20th of December, in which it is stated in substance—

"'That his Swedish Majesty having in vain awaited an explanation relative to the entrance of the French into Pomerania, relative to the removal of the King's officers to Madgeburg, and the capture of Swedish ships by French cruizers, his Majesty has ordered his minister of state and of foreign affairs to declare to the undersigned, that, his presence at Stockholm being altogether useless, his Majesty desires that the undersigned shall quit Sweden as soon as possible, and that he should, at the same time, be furnished with the passports necessary for his voyage.'

"The undersigned conceives it unnecessary to dwell upon the imputation in the said official note, insinuating that his Majesty the Emperour and King had acted contrary to the faith of treaties. It would be easy for the undersigned to refute this charge by recalling the conditions of the treaty concluded at Paris on the 6th of January; and proving by facts that Sweden has not fulfilled in any one point the obligations imposed by her engagements in that instrument, although France has shewn the most zealous desire to restore to her that same Pomerania which had been conquered by the imperial and royal arms in the last war.

and was met by the generals and members of the government on the Fahrbrucke, whence he proceeded, under the thunder of cannon, the ringing of bells, and amid the joyful acclamations of the populace, to the palace of government. He was accompanied by the Field Marshal Baron Von Stedengk, and the Count

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"The undersigned has to observe, that it has never, either verbally or by writing, been notified to him, that his diplomatic relations would be suspended, until he had given a categorical answer to the explanations demanded of him by the Swedish ministry. His Excellency the minister of state and of foreign affairs, in his letter of the 7th of September last, addressed to the Chargé d'Affaires of France, limits himself to demanding of the undersigned, 'Whether he is in Sweden as the agent of a friendly or hostile power?'—declaring at the same time to the undersigned, that his continuance in the States of his Swedish Majesty depends on the answer which he shall find himself prepared to give to this question.

"With respect to the principal object of the official note from his Excellency the minister of state and of foreign affairs, the undersigned will not lose a moment to bring it under the cognizance of his court; but it depends not upon him to obey the desire of his Swedish Majesty. On the contrary it is his duty to declare, that he will never consent to abandon the post which the Emperour and King, his august master, has deigned to confide to him, before he shall have obtained his Imperial and Royal Majesty's orders to that effect.

"But if his Swedish Majesty, in virtue of his sovereign rights, will cause it to be signified to the undersigned, *officially* and in *writing*, that he will no longer permit his residence in Sweden, the undersigned conceiving, that under these circumstances he will only be yielding to force, will not hesitate to avail himself, with the shortest possible delay, of the passport, which he has now the honour to send back herewith to his Excellency M. the Baron d'Engerstrom, minister of state and of foriegn affairs; because, till the existence of the circumstances which he has specified, it will be impossible for him to make use of it, and therefore to no purpose to keep it.

"The undersigned has the honour to be, &c.

"Aug. de Cabre."

Chancellor Wetterstedt. The Prince immediately after his arrival inspected the new fortifications.

Some deputies of the nobility at Rugen having waited on the Prince Royal, they were received in the

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Copy of a Letter from his Excellency M. Baron d'Engerstrom, to M. de Cabre, dated Stockholm, December, 23, 1812.

"I have received the letter, sir, which you have done me the honour to address me, under date of the 21st of this month, and having, in the course of my official duty, laid it before the King, his Majesty charges me again to repeat to you, that your presence at Stockholm cannot be tolerated any longer. Your diplomatic character having now ceased, you will find yourself, sir, in the situation of all ordinary foreigners; and, consequently, subject to the execution of all orders which the police may find it necessary to give respecting you. The chief governour of that department, to whom reports, very little to your advantage, have been made respecting you, has received orders to make you quit the capital within four and twenty hours. A commissary of police will accompany you to the frontier; and by these means you will not have any further occasion for the passports which you have sent back to me.

(Signed) "Baron d'Engerstrom.

Copy of a Letter from M. de Cabre, to his Excellency the Baron d'Engerstrom, &c. dated Stockholm, December 23, 1812.

"I have just this moment received the letter which you have this day written to me, in which your Excellency, announcing to me for the first time, 'that my diplomatic functions have ceased,' informs me at the same time, 'that I become subject to the orders of the police, and that the governour has received instructions to cause me to be conducted to the frontier.'

"This determination of the Swedish government, and the manner in which it is communicated to me, appear to me more than sufficient to justify me in the eyes of my court, for abandoning the post which I have filled with honour for more than a year at the court of his Majesty the King of Sweden. I request, in consequence, that

most flattering manner; and in his address to them he made the following observation: "You have suffered much, but if Sweden does not fall in this contest, every thing shall be made good to you."

Considerable blame has been given to the Prince Royal of Sweden by many persons in this country, for not having prevented Hamburg, in May, 1813, from falling into the power of the French: a review, therefore, of the operations of the Swedes in this quarter becomes necessary.

A Swedish force of 3000 men was stationed near Hamburg till the 21st of May, 1813, when it was directed by the Prince Royal to fall back, and the commanding officer ordered to repair to Stralsund, to be brought before a military court, for having made an application of his troops, that had never entered into the plan of the Prince Royal, and without his sanction or instruction.

The Swedes, in consequence of this order, retired, notwithstanding Count Walmoden made the most pressing representations, urging their remaining for another forty-eight hours.

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your Excellency will send me back my passports, of which I intend to avail myself with the least possible delay."

"In consequence of the answer of M. de Cabre to the last letter of his Excellency the Baron d'Engerstrom, the passports were returned to M. de Cabre, and the commissary of police was not sent with him. M. de Cabre was indulged, by his special request, with permission to remain three days longer at Stockholm, when he departed for France on the 27th December.

The motives* of the Prince Royal are allowed by officers of distinguished talents to rest upon good military principles.

To induce Sweden to take an active part in the operations on the Continent, the allies had engaged to grant the following number of troops; Russia, 36,000; Prussia, 16,000.

The troops which were organizing in the north of Germany, under the protection and at the expense of England, were, together with those from the two former powers, to be placed at the sole disposal of the Prince Royal, thereby giving him an army of 90,000 men, including his Swedish troops.

The utmost force of Swedes to be brought into cooperation with the allies in Germany, was not to exceed 30,000; and of these a proportion would necessarily remain at Stralsund, where an entrenched camp was preparing for 15,000 men; but a part of the Swedish force had not at this time arrived, and the Prince Royal had not received any of the expected reinforcements of Russians and Prussians. He could therefore have only detached a small force to the Elbe, which being exposed to the joint attacks of the French and Danes, might have been cut off; for it must be observed, that at this period the main armies of the allies were retiring from the Saale and the Elbe, and that the whole course of the Lower Elbe, from Magdeburg to Hamburg, was only partially guarded

* I have already reviewed this business in my "Northern Campaigns," and have had no reason to change my sentiments: on the contrary, they are supported by the approbation of several officers who were engaged in the operations that took place on the Continent at the time.

by small detachments, and therefore might be easily crossed at any point by a superiour French force, but which certainly would not have been the case, if the twenty-eight gun boats which were laying at Gottenburg, at the time (the 19th of May) the Danes withdrew theirs from Hamburg, had been in the Elbe. At all events, these gun boats might have contributed essentially to the defence of Hamburg, and the passages in its immediate vicinity, if their co-operation could not have secured the river in its course far upwards.

By attempting to defend Hamburg under these circumstances, the Prince Royal would have risked the destruction of his army in detail, as all support from his allies was remote and uncertain.

The importance of preserving Hamburg on principles of humanity and general policy, it must be supposed, could not be less obvious to, or less felt by the Prince Royal of Sweden, than by the other powers; and therefore, the only motives for his not attempting it must have resulted from military considerations; and there is not any military man who would not object to throwing in a corps of troops into a large town unfortified, placed in a *cul de sac*, of which the chief protection, a river, had become null from the moment that a new enemy had started up, who commanded the right bank.

Moreover, it would appear that at this period the Prince Royal was left much in the dark as to the plans and intentions of the Russians and Prussians. He had already been disappointed of the promised support. Their inadequate exertions, their retrogade

motions, and the experience of their conduct in former contests, gave him reason to apprehend an armistice, which might be succeeded by a peace, leaving him to shift for himself, and therefore he would not have been justified in committing beyond the reach of support or the power of retreat, the whole of the disposable military force of Sweden, or to risk the destruction of a part *when* its only security might have rested on its being kept together at Stralsund.

So little had the Prince Royal been consulted or communicated with at this period, that when a project was formed by the Baron de Stein, under the sanction of the Emperour of Russia and King of Prussia, for an arrangement of the North of Germany, the first intimation which his Royal Highness received of it, was in a letter from M. Alopeus, acquainting him that he, M. Alopeus, had been appointed governour of the North of Germany, and desired him to send a corps to the assistance of Hamburg. At this period the allies occupied nothing on the left bank of the Elbe, therefore the government given to M. Alopeus was formed in great part by Swedish Pomerania.

No other military operation of importance was undertaken by the Prince Royal before the armistice signed and ratified on the 4th June, 1813.

The Emperour of Russia and King of Prussia having determined on not adopting any steps but such as met the entire concurrence of the Prince Royal of

Sweden, his Royal Highness set out to meet those illustrious personages.

In his route to the head-quarters of the allies, the Prince Royal reviewed a number of Russian and other corps destined to act under his command, and was every where received with demonstrations of the warmest attachment and most sincere respect. On the 6th of July, the Prince Royal reached Prentzlau, where his Royal Highness was received, on the part of his Prussian Majesty, by the Prince of Sayn Witgenstein. He was afterwards waited upon by the magistrates and clergy, and welcomed in a speech from a member of the church. On mentioning the first appearance of the Prince Royal in Prentzlau, seven years ago, his Royal Highness exclaimed, "An unhappy time for your town; happily it is past and may it never return." On expressing the flattering hopes they entertained, the Prince said, "The sole motive that inspires me will always be to contribute with what small means I possess to the preservation of your country's independence;" and at the conclusion, he observed, "I have as yet done nothing to attract your attention to me, but I will endeavour to deserve it by my zeal for the welfare of your country."

On the 7th, the journey was continued by the way of Konigsberg, and his Royal Highness was received by General Count Tauenzeen, at Landsberg, on the river Wartha. On the 8th, his Royal Highness travelled by the way of Nussert to Rostein; and on the 9th, through Lisser, where the Russian General, Baron Winzingerode, had his head-quarters, forward to Trachenberg.

On the road between the Ucker and Neermarkt, his Royal Highness reviewed several battalions of the Russian militia, and at Schwedt he likewise reviewed a regiment of hussars belonging to the German legion, to be also placed under his command. Wherever he came troops paraded; the towns through which he passed were in the evening illuminated, and every thing shewed the sincere joy of the inhabitants at his Royal Highness's journey. Between Landsberg and Trachenberg, his Royal Highness was escorted by a detachment of the Elizabethgorod hussars, and of General Illwasky's Don Cossacks.

Immediately on his Royal Highness's arrival, he was received by their Majesties the Emperour of Russia and King of Prussia; after which a conference took place, at which Lord Cathcart and Mr. Thornton were present on the part of Great Britain.

The armistice agreed upon by the allied powers with Buonaparte, through the interposition of the Emperour of Austria, signed on the 2d June, 1813, and which was to have terminated on the 20th of July, was prolonged by convention to the 17th of August.—The city of Prague was fixed upon for the meeting of a congress, and the 5th of July for the day of its opening.

In the mean time, the most vigorous measures were pursued by all parties to strengthen their forces and to enable them to carry on an active and extraor-

dinary campaign, if peace should not be determined upon at the expiration of the armistice. In every province of Prussia, and in the districts of the North of Germany, exertions were made to set on foot a most powerful and well-equipped force. The Emperour of Austria, who had been reluctantly compelled to afford aid to Buonaparte in his invasion of Russia, now employed every means to acquire a well-disciplined and numerous army. In short, the object of each continental state seemed directed to one point, viz. the obtainment of a strong and efficient number of troops.

Buonaparte interposed every species of delay in the negotiation, both by disputes upon matters of form, and complaints relative to the character of the persons sent to the congress, &c. and there appearing no prospect of his acceding to the required terms, the armistice was denounced, and the Emperour of Austria issued a declaration of war and joined his arms to the cause of Europe. This cause was also to have both the bodily and mental assistance of a man distinguished as one of the greatest soldiers of modern times.

General Moreau having acceded to the wishes of the Emperour Alexander, that he should give his aid to the allied powers, expressed through his Majesty's minister at Philadelphia, the latter applied to the British admiral, Cockburn, for a licence for an American ship to go to Europe, and it was allowed by the British and American governments to carry out and return with a cargo, on condition of taking General Moreau and his suite as passengers. On the 21st of June, therefore, General Moreau embarked at Hurl-Gate, on board the Hannibal, 500 tons burthen, and sailed from

America. He landed at Gottenburg the 26th of July, and on the 4th of August he again embarked at Ystadt in a Swedish brig of war for Stralsund. The Prince Royal of Sweden, then at Berlin, set off to give his early friend a meeting, and to concert with him a plan of military operations. It was determined by these two experienced officers, to organize a separate corps d'armée, to be principally composed of French prisoners, and called Moreau's Legion. This body was to be decorated with the white or national cockade, to bear the motto *pro patria*, to fight for the deliverance of Europe, and in particular for the emancipation of Frenchmen. A part of the plan agreed upon was, that General Willot, who was expected in England from America, together with General Rewbel, (the Commander-in-chief of the Westphalian army, at the time of the escape of the Duke of Brunswick, and who was disgraced by Buonaparte on account of that event,) were to organize such of the French prisoners as they could raise in this country, and to have disembarked with them in the North of France.*

* "The eventful years that had passed since the departure of General Moreau from the land of his nativity, the success of his imperial rival, and the changes effected in the politics of Europe, were alike unable to obliterate from the minds of men the services or the just renown of General Moreau; his reputation was permanent, because it was founded on the qualities of the heart; and his military character was unimpaired, because it was solid. His health was drank at Dresden by the officers in the service of Napoleon, and, but for the interference of General Berthier, they would have paid for their enthusiasm with their lives. Five officers in the service of Buonaparte deserted to General Moreau from Dantzig; and had he been spared to his country, there is no doubt that he would have been joined by many valuable French officers.

"The battle of Dresden and the plan of the campaign were arranged and advised by General Moreau and the Prince Royal of Sweden: they are, no doubt, some of the grandest ideas that they had ever projected. General Moreau was in earnest conversation with the Emperour Alexander, in the midst of the battle of Dresden, and in the act of giving his opinion on some military movements, while passing with the Emperour behind a Prussian battery, to which two French batteries were answering, one in front, and the other in flank; and the British minister, Lord Cathcart, and

Major-general Sir Robert Wilson were listening to him, when a ball struck his thigh, and almost carried his leg off, passing through his horse, and carried away the calf of his other leg. He uttered a deep groan, but immediately after the first agony of pain was over, spoke with the utmost tranquility, and perceiving the officers around him in the greatest distress, he observed, "*Soyez tranquilles, messieurs, c'est mon sort;*" and leaning on Colonel Rapatel, who supported him in his arms, he observed, though I am lost, to die in so good a cause, and in the presence of the Emperour Alexander, is sweet."

"It has been observed, that in addition to the entire confidence of all the legitimate sovereigns in Europe, which General Moreau enjoyed at the time of his fate, Louis XVIII had given him unlimited powers, with respect to France, pledging his word that he would take no measures either of internal or external police, without consulting him. On hearing of his death, that prince exclaimed, 'I have lost my crown a second time!' *(J'ai perdu ma couronne une seconde fois.)* At the suggestion of the Prince of Conde, he intended to give General Moreau the rank of Constable of France, the highest situation under the old monarchy, and the French blue ribband." *Vide the Author's Memoirs of General Moreau.*

Notwithstanding the extraordinary and continual losses experienced by Buonaparte from the commencement of the campaign in Russia, he was, at the expiration of the armistice, at the head of an army more numerous than any that he had before commanded. The force under his own immediate command amounted to 300,000 men. In addition to this force, Marshal Davoust commanded a strong corps, with which Holstein and Hamburg were defended, and Pomerania threatened. Buonaparte's position was a semicircle round Lusatia, of which Dresden was the centre, and the Lower Elbe the base. His forces were closely concentrated, and prepared to make a grand attack on the divided armies of the allies.

The positions occupied by the allies, were, in a military point of view, less advantageous than those of Napoleon; their strength was divided into three corps, each acting at a distance from the other, and possessing but imperfect communications.

In addition to the accumulated strength acquired by the accession of Austria to the cause of Europe, the allies likewise obtained the advantage of turning the barrier of the Elbe, (great part of that river flowing through Bohemia) where they might have passed unopposed. The grand army, consisting of the whole Austrian force and considerable Russian and Prussian detachments from Silesia, therefore, took up its position in Bohemia, with its head quarters at Toplitz, whence they could threaten Saxony and the rear of the French army. In Silesia, Marshal Blucher com-

manded a force amounting to 100,000 men; it was composed of the remains of the Russian and Prussian regulars, and of a large body of well-organized militia.

The Prince Royal had his head-quarters at Berlin, and commanded a force styled the army of the North of Germany:* it was composed of the whole Swedish army, large corps of Russian and Prussian regulars, the militia of Brandenburg, and the troops levied from the Hanse Towns, &c. This army amounted to 120,000 men: on one side it covered Berlin, and was prepared to act as affairs might demand against Buonaparte's grand army: on the other side it watched the movements of Marshal Davoust and the garrison of Magdeburg.

* It is chiefly to the operations of this army that the subsequent pages will be devoted, and I shall content myself with a brief sketch of the movements of the rest of the allies, as it would be irrelevant to introduce in the Memoirs of the Prince Royal of Sweden a detail of the campaign of the corps under Marshal Blucher and Prince Schwartzenberg. In my account of the Campaign from the termination of the armistice, which I shall give to the Public shortly after the appearance of these Memoirs, and which will form a continuance to my work, entitled the "Northern Campaigns of 1812 and 1813," the movements of each corps will be distinctly reviewed.—In the "Northern Campaigns," I have given a detail of the military events on the continent of Europe from the commencement of the war between France and Russia, in 1812 to the period of the armistice in 1813.—Various foreign State papers, of great and general interest; every important circumstance, *political and military*, connected with this great contest; a review of the conduct and principles that influence the members of a society established on the continent, under the title of the *Tugent Bund or Tugent Vereind* (the united in virtue;) the proclamations and manifestoes issued by the several chiefs engaged in the struggle; anecdotes relating to Buonaparte and his army during the retreat from Moscow, communicated by officers serving in the allied armies; the treaties of alliance, offensive and defensive, entered into between the different powers; topographical notes; and an Appendix, containing all the bulletins of Buonaparte published previous to the armistice.

The account of the Campaign from the termination of the armistice, will be published on a similar plan to the above.

The following is the first bulletin of the Prince Royal of Sweden from which will be seen the positions of the allied army under his command, on the 13th August, three days after the termination of the armistice.

The Prince Royal's bulletins are admirably composed, and furnish almost a perfect view of the consistency of his different movements, and the comprehensiveness of his plans. I shall, therefore, give them in their order, with occasional remarks and notes, as such shall appear necessary. From these interesting documents the reader will perceive the interest entertained by the Prince Royal of Sweden to lead the subjects of that nation to victory in the field, which he naturally hopes hereafter to govern in peace and happiness at home. The Prince and people will thus become mutually endeared to each other, by the pleasing recollection of common glory achieved, common dangers encountered, and common sufferings endured. In the language of that estimable writer, Madame la Baronne de Staël Holstein, the Swedish nation has chosen the best means of repairing adverse times, by calling a Prince to the throne, in whom admiration is blended with homage due to the sovereign. "In this election we behold," observes the Baroness, "the dawn of a glorious day, and prosperity to Sweden. Valour, and the genius of an experienced warriour, are the indisputable qualifications for a chief of an empire tottering from amidst the shocks that have engulphed so many other nations, because their Princes knew not how to conduct their own subjects to the

field of battle. During long and bloody wars, many generals have acquired the reputation of being fearless of danger; but it is rare indeed to have been without reproach in an epoch of civil commotions. The Prince Royal of Sweden has carried chivalry in republicanism as well as in royalty: France is indebted to him for having defended her in the most critical periods, long before its present Ruler was in question, and who has subsequently, by a thousand artifices, caparisoned himself with military glory."*

"FIRST BULLETIN.

"*Head-quarters at Oranienburg, Aug.* 13, 1813.

"His Royal Highness the Crown Prince arrived here yesterday, and has fixed his head-quarters at this place.

"The united army of Northern Germany, of which his Royal Highness has the command, occupies the following positions:—

"A part of the 4th Prussian corps d'armée, which forms the reserve, under the command of Lieutenant General Count Tauenzeen, has its head-quarters at Munchenberg, and stretches its right wing towards Berlin. The 4th Prussian corps d'armée, under Lieutenant-General Von Bulow, has its head-quarters at Berlin, and, in conjunction with Count Tauenzeen's, corps, forms the left wing of the allied army.

* *Vide* "An Appeal to the Nations of Europe against the continental system, by Madame la Baronne de Stael Holstein."—Richardson, London, 1813.

"The Swedish army, commanded by Field Marshal Count Von Stedingk, is assembling in the vicinity of Oranienburg, with its head near Spandau. The head-quarters are here. The first Swedish division is under the command of Lieutenant-General Skioldebrand, and the second under that of Major-General Baron Posse. This last division, together with a separate brigade detached from the third division, forms a corps, commanded by Lieutenant-General Baron Sandils. The whole Swedish force is in the centre of the allied army. The right wing consists of Russian troops, under the orders of Lieutenant-General Baron Winzingerode, whose head-quarters are at Brandenburg. Lieutenant-General Count Woronzoff's corps belongs to this wing, with its head-quarters at Plau.

"A Prussian corps, under Major-General Hersch-feldt, is in front of Magdeburg.

"It is connected by its left wing with the Russian army, and by its right with the corps of observation on the Lower Elbe, under Lieutenant-General Count Wallmoden. Its head-quarters are at Schwerin, and its advanced posts reach from Leuzin to Dassau, and the middle towards Lubeck. Lieutenant-General Baron Von Vegesack belongs to this corps d'armée; he has under his command 3000 Swedish troops, 3000 Prussians, and 3000 Mecklenburgers.

"Separate corps, belonging to Count Tauenzeen's army, blockade Custrin and Stettin.

"Major-General Gibbs has landed at Stralsund, with a corps of 3000 English troops.

"General Baron Aldreuitz is at the head of the general staff of the united army of the North of Germany, and has under him the Major-General Baron Tarvast, and Count Gustav Lowintejeln, as Adjutant-General, to receive and forward orders.

"The army is so disposed, that within a march and a half, upwards of eighty thousand men can be in the line.

"Whilst his Royal Highness, on the 11th inst. in the forenoon, was reviewing the troops which are blockading Stettin, and causing them to manœuvre, and at the same time to threaten the fortress works, a howitzer was pointed at his Royal Highness; the grenade fell thirty paces behind him, and burst. His Royal Highness, who discovered some French soldiers creeping forwards before the outer works, and whom the Cossacks, after the shot having taking place from the fortress, were on the point of attacking, caused the French commandant to be called to him, and who accordingly appeared before his Royal Highness, accompanied by a commissary at war. The Prince Royal mildly stated to him, that the commanding officer in fort Prussia had broken the truce, and fired on his Royal Highness's escort, and added, I might make you all prisoners of war, were I to command the cavalry to attack you, and you could not defend yourselves, being without arms. The officer made excuses, and expressed his sorrow for the accident. After his Royal Highness had conversed with him for a short time, he retired. The French soldiers expressed their hearty wishes for the restoration of peace, and to see an end put to the calamities of war.

"To judge from the preparations of the allies at Stettin, it is to be expected that the fortress will be stormed on the conclusion of the armistice. By the zeal and industry of those officers who have the charge of supplying the army with provisions, it has not as yet suffered any deficiency. The number of sick is very trifling."

THREE days after the publication of the above, the head-quarters of the Prince Royal were removed, and his Royal Highness issued the annexed bulletin and address to the army. The latter of these articles is undoubtedly a master-piece of political wisdom, and it went further in the estimation of all reasonable men in confirming their hopes of success to the cause of Europe, from the exertions of the Prince Royal, than any document he had published, or step he had taken, till that time. In this address, the Prinee Royal observes, with a happiness of illustration which every one must allow as just, that the same sentiment which prompted the French in 1792, to assemble and combat the armies which entered their territory, must now animate their opponents in the defence of their native land, their wives and their children. The territories of all have been either invaded or threatened with invasion; the independence of all has been menaced or subverted, and it could not but incite the combined army of Northern Germany to deeds of distinguished heroism, when they reflect that they were fighting for the liberty of all Europe, and the peace of the whole world.

"SECOND BULLETIN.

"*Head-quarters, Potzdam, Aug.* 16, 1813.

"The Prince Royal removed his head-quarters to this city last night.

"The army is concentrating.

"At the expiration of unavailing negotiations entered upon at Prague, the armistice was denounced on the 10th by the allies, so that hostilities may be renewed to-morrow. On the 11th, at one in the morning, Count Metternich delivered to the Count de Narbonnee, at Prague, the declaration of war by Austria against France.

"His Royal Highness has just addressed to the combined army under his orders, the following proclamation:—

"COMBINED ARMY OF THE NORTH OF GERMANY.

"*The Prince Royal, Generalissimo—to the Army.*

"Soldiers!—Called by the confidence of my King and of the Sovereigns his allies, to lead you in the career which is about to open, I rely for the success of our arms on the Divine protection, the justice of our cause, and on your valour and perseverance.

"Had it not been for the extraordinary concurrence of events which have given to the last twelve years a dreadful celebrity, you would not have been assembled

on the soil of Germany; but your Sovereigns have felt that Europe is a great family, and that none of the States of which it is composed can remain indifferent to the evils imposed upon any one of its members by a conquering power. They are also convinced that when such a power threatens to attack and subjugate every other, there ought to exist only one will among those nations that are determined to escape from shame and slavery.

"From that moment you were called from the banks of the Wola and the Don, from the shores of Britain, and the mountains of the North, to unite with the German warriours who defend the cause of Europe.

"This, then, is the moment when rivalry, national prejudices, and antipathies, ought to disappear before the grand object of the independence of nations.

"*The Emperour Napoleon cannot live in peace with Europe, unless Europe be his slave.* His presumption carried 400,000 brave men seven hundred miles from their country: misfortunes against which he did not deign to provide, fell upon their heads, and 300,000 Frenchmen perished on the territory of a great empire, the Sovereign of which had made every effort to preserve peace with France.

"It was to be expected that this terrible disaster, the effect of Divine vengeance, would have inclined the Emperour of France to a less murderous system; and that, instructed at last by the example of the North and of Spain, he would have renounced the idea of subjugating the Continent, and have consented to let the world be at peace: but this hope has been disap-

pointed; and that peace which all governments desire, and which every government has proposed, has been rejected by the Emperour Napoleon.

"Soldiers!—It is to arms then we must have recourse to conquer, repose, and independence. The same sentiments which guided the French in 1792, and which prompted them to assemble, and to combat the armies which entered their territory, ought now to animate your valour against those, who, after having invaded the land which gave you birth, still hold in chains your brethren, your wives, and your children. Soldiers! what a noble prospect is opened to you! The liberty of Europe, the re-establishment of its equilibrium, the end of that convulsive state which has had twenty years duration: finally, the peace of the world, will be the result of your efforts. Render yourselves worthy, by your union, your discipline, and your courage, of the high destiny which awaits you.

"CHARLES JOHN.

From my Head-quarters at Oranienburg,
August 15, 1813.

"THIRD BULLETIN.

"*Head-quarters, Charlottenburg, August* 18, 1813.

"The Prince Royal left Potzdam at three o'clock yesterday morning, and transferred his head-quarters to this place.

"Repeated advices have been received that the enemy's troops were assembling in force at Bareuth, and in the direction of Trebben, to make a push on Berlin.

His Royal Highness concentrated the combined army between the capital and Spandau. Nearly 90,000 combatants have arrived in that position since yesterday evening. Some corps have marched ten German miles in 36 hours.

Lieutenant Baron de Winzingerode has made a reconnoisance on the right with 8 or 9000 cavalry. He pushed forward as far as Wittenberg and Juterbock, on the left flank of the enemy, and made some prisoners, two of whom are captains. The Bavarian Colonel, Count de Sessel, has been taken with some cavalry. Lieutenant de Vins, of the regiment of hussars of Pomerania, attacked the enemy at Zesch, and took 52 men and 21 remount horses, belonging to a regiment of Hesse Darmstadt cavalry.

"The enemy, as far as is yet known, has not passed the frontier, except with reconnoitring parties.

The French General of Division De Jomini, chief of the staff *of the army commanded by the Prince of Moskwa, came over on the 15th to the Allies*, and, passing through the army of General Blucher, proceeded to the Russian head-quarters. He has confirmed the intelligence of the Emperour Napoleon's project to attack the army covering Berlin.*

"General Blucher occupied Breslau on the 14th."

* The defection of General De Jomini, although by birth a Swiss, afforded to French Generals the beneficial example of leaving Buonaparte to his falling fortunes, and repairing to the standard of the cause of independence and of humanity: an example that was directly followed by several other French officers.—J. P.

"FOURTH BULLETIN.

"Potzdam, August 21, 1813.

"The position of the Prince Royal's army is removed from Potzdam to Trebbin and Beleitz;—that the enemy had under Oudinot 20,000 men at Luckenwalde. Some affairs of advanced posts had taken place.

"General Walmoden reports, that two battalions of Lutzow had been attacked near Lauenburg, on the 17th, and 18th, by six battalions; but they had been repulsed.

FIFTH BULLETIN.

"BATTLE OF GROSS BEREN.

"Ruhlsdorff, Noon, August, 24, 1813.

"All the reports of the secret agents having announced that on the evening of the 21st of August, the Emperour Napoleon was concentrating the corps of the Dukes of Reggio, Bolluno, and Pandua, and of Generals Bertrand and Regnier, forming more than 80,000 men, in the environs of Bareuth, and every thing announcing on the part of his troops a rapid march upon Berlin; the Prince Royal made the following dispositions:—

"The third Prussian corps, commanded by Bulow, placed two divisions between Hernersdorf and Klein Beren. One division already occupied Mittenwalde, and another Trebbin, in order to mask the whole

movement. The fourth Prussian corps, under Tauenzeen, united at Blankenfelde. The Swedish army left Potzdam on the 22d at 2 A. M. proceeded upon Saarmund, passed the defiles, and took post at Ruhlsdorff. The Russian army followed the Swedish army, and took post at Gutergatze. General Tchernicheff guarded Beleitz and Treuenbrietzen with 3000 Cossacks and a brigade of light infantry.

"The secret agents announced that the Emperour Napoleon was to pass by Luckau to proceed to Bayreuth. General Tchernicheff executed his orders with his usual intelligence, and carried alarm and uneasiness to the rear of the enemy's columns. General Herschfeldt, who had received orders to proceed from the environs of Magdeburg to Brandenburg and Potzdam, and from Potzdam to Saarmund, made a rapid movement of five Swedish miles in ten hours.

"Affairs were in this state when the enemy attacked General Thuen, at Trebbin, on the 22d, in the morning. Their superiority determined the General to evacuate that post. The enemy advanced successively, and occupied all the interval between Mittenwalde and the Saare, covered by woods and flanked by marshes. The advanced posts fell back slowly, and covered the front of the line. On the 23d, in the morning, the corps of General Bertrand debouched upon General Tauenzeen. The latter repulsed him, and made some prisoners.

"The village of Gross Beren, against which the seventh French corps, and a strong reserve, were directed, was taken by him. The Duke of Reggio's corps proceeded upon Ahrendorff. By the occupation of

Gross Beren, the enemy was at 1000 toises from the centre of the camp.* General Bulow received orders to attack it; he executed it with the decision of a skilful general. The troops marched with the calmness that distinguished the soldiers of the great Frederick in the seven years' war. The cannonade was warm for some hours. The troops advanced under the protection of the artillery, and fell with the bayonet upon the seventh corps, which had deployed in the plain, and which marched boldly upon the camp. There were several charges of cavalry against the corps of the Duke of Padua, which do great honour to the Prussian General Oppen. The Russian and Swedish army were in battle, and waited the deploying of the other enemy's corps to attack them at the same time. General Winzingerode was at the head of 10,000 horse, and the Count de Woronzoff at the head of the Russian infantry.

"Marshal Count Stedingk, in front of the Swedish line, had his cavalry in reserve. The village of Ruhlsdorff, situated in front of his camp, was furnished with infantry, in order to keep open the communication with General Bulow. The other corps of the enemy's army not having debouched from the woods, the Russian and Swedish army did not stir.

"However, the enemy, menacing the village of Ruhlsdorff, and having already pushed his tirailleurs

* The village of Gross Beren being within a small distance of the Prince Royal's camp, it afforded the enemy a considerable command over it; and his Royal Highness seeing the importance of that place caused it to be attacked be General Bulow's, corps, which executed the operation with the greatest gallantry and success. The enemy next made attemps upon the village of Ruhlsdorff, and upon other parts of the line, which were equally fruitless: and they consequently desisted, and fell back in the direction of Dresden.—J. P.

against the light Swedish troops placed in front of that village, the Prince Royal ordered some battalions, supported by artillery, to reinforce the advanced posts, and Colonel Cardell was directed to push on with a battalion of flying artillery, to take the enemy in flank.

Hitherto the results of the affair of Gross Beren are 26 cannon, 30 caissons, and much baggage, and 1500 prisoners, among whom are 40 officers, the Colonel of Uhlans of the Saxon Guard, and several Lieutenant-Colonels and French Majors. The number of killed and wounded of the enemy is very considerable, and the woods are filled with stragglers, whom the light cavalry are bringing in every moment.

"The enemy have retired beyond Trebbin, which is already occupied by two regiments of Cossacks. General Bulow, Tauenzeen, and O'Rourke, are in pursuit of the enemy, as well as the whole light Russian cavalry.

"The Prince Royal found among the prisoners, officers and soldiers who had served under his orders, and who shed tears of joy in seeing their old general again."

From the preceding very interesting Bulletin it will be observed, that the Prince Royal completely outmanœuvred the attack directed upon Berlin, and having gained the battle on the 24th with his left wing,

he followed up his successes by advancing both his wings and his centre as far as circumstances would permit, defeated his enemy in every direction, and took a considerable number of pieces of cannon.

Immediately after the first victorious accounts were received at Berlin from the Prince Royal, a deputation was sent to thank him in the name of that city for the protection he had afforded it; to which the Prince Royal returned the following answer:

"Gentlemen,

"I have not deserved your thanks: but I rejoice much in this generous participation in the fortune of our arms, and in your attachment to your exalted Monarch. We shall conquer: the advanced guard of our army has already driven the flying enemy into Saxony. Let us only have confidence in ourselves, and Prussia shall soon be restored to her former greatness, and we will then celebrate the festival of victory together. Salute, on my part, the worthy inhabitants of Berlin, and forget us not. Adieu, Gentlemen."

"SIXTH BULLETIN.

"*Head-quarters, Saarmund, Aug.* 28, 1813.

"The Prince Royal removed his head-quarters to this place on the 26th of August.

"The corps of General Hirschfeldt was posted, the 26th, between Seckau and Golzow, where he had hopes of cutting off the rear-guard of General Girard's, which was proceeding from Ziesar to Bruck;

but the enemy passed in such haste that he could not effect it.

"On the 25th, two officers and 104 soldiers of the enemy, of different nations, were brought to Potzdam; who were willingly made prisoners by 20 men of the militia cavalry. They grounded their arms. They assert this disposition in general.

"The pursuit of the enemy is so brisk, that on the 25th, General O'Rourke arrived at Gotten, where the Dukes of Reggio and Padua, and General Regneir, passed the preceding night with a large division of their army.

"The enemy having forced Colonel Adrianoff to retire to Juterbock, and having taken post therein with two battalions of foot and 600 Polish hulans, probably with the view of facilitating a retreat and keeping open his communication with the Elbe; he was dislodged quickly on the 26th, by a part of the troops under General O'Rourke, and two Prussian squadrons, under Major Hellwig. Colonel Krasoffski attacked and took possession of the town. General Benkendorff pursued the enemy with four squadrons of Russian cavalry. The two Prussian squadrons, and two pieces, which were in the villages of Sohrbeck and Boschav, joined him. The enemy lost in this affair more than 300 men killed, besides many prisoners.

"Several French officers have come over to us, and have been embodied with our troops.

"General Tchernicheff occupied Belzig the night of

the 26th with his Cossacks. General Girard, who had stopped at Lubnitz in order to pass the night, was alarmed on the spot; a brisk action ensued near Belzig. He did not, however, succeed in keeping possession of the town.

"The 26th, Colonel Krus returned to Niemeck with his regiment of cavalry from his expedition to Dalme, which he executed most brilliantly. Environed on all sides by the enemy, he was unable long to retain his position. Nevertheless he seized, within sight of a strong column, seventy carriages laden with provisions, and took of their escort six officers, and 120 men, the rest were either killed or dispersed. The Prince Royal has directed General Winzingerode to express to this brave officer his entire satisfaction at the skill and valour he displayed on so interesting an occasion.

"General Bulow's head-quarters were on the 27th at Elsholtz; General Borstell was in the environs of Lackchwalde; General Tauenzeen's head-quarters were at Bareuth on the 27th; his corps was posted between that city, Golzen, and Luckau. He evinced great ability in quickly collecting his reserve; and much activity in chasing the enemy from the wood. General Wobeser, after galling the left flank, and rear of the enemy, collected his force near Golzen, marched upon Bareuth, eloigning an enemy's force of 2500 men. All our troops harassed the enemy in their retreat. All the roads are covered with arms, and dead or disabled horses. The French rear-guard destroyed its baggage.

"General Wolmoden was attacked on the 21st, in

the afternoon, between Vallahu and Camin, by a French force of 20,000 men, commanded by the Prince of Eckmuhl; the battle lasted till long after night-fall—the positions were maintained on both sides. Our loss is about 100 men, killed and wounded: that of the enemy, according to the prisoners, exceeds 500. The 23d, they concentrated themselves at Wittenberg, and after various demonstrations, suddenly detached 10,000 men towards Schwerin;—the remainder shortly followed. They took a strong position between the great and little Lake. General Tettenborn, with four regiments of Cossacks, supported by the corps of Lutzen and of Reiche, observed them on all sides, and cut off their communication. They have already intercepted many couriers, dispatched by the French government, and taken many waggons of ammunition. In addition, General Vegesack observes their motions and takes his measures in consequence. General Walmoden feels he should not let this hazardous manœuvre of the enemy pass him; he advanced to Grabow, but the 26th, he marched again towards Schwerin; from whence the enemy have not yet attempted to stir. About 100 French and Danish prisoners have been taken by the Cossacks. Count Kielmansegge of the Hanoverian Chasseurs, passed the Elbe, with his detachment, near Domitz, on the 25th, in the morning. He attacked the enemy in an entrenched post, and after having killed and wounded about fifty, took three officers, and 100 men prisoners.

"Yesterday was made remarkable by the defeat of the corps under General Girard, between Lubnitz and Belzig, through the combined efforts of Generals Tchernicheff, while, without being aware of it, Hirschfeldt was on their rear. He profited by the sit-

uation of a wood, to fall upon their left flank. The heights in front of the village of Hagelberg, and that where the enemy had formed, were carried by assault, and retaken several times. After an obstinate resistance, all the enemy's army, which was greatly superiour in number to ours, retired in much disorder, and were pursued by the tirailleurs until nightfall.

"On this occasion, General Tchernicheff attacked the enemy on the side of Belzig; his cavalry executed some brilliant charges. A regiment of Cossacks charged a column of infantry 1000 strong, which it destroyed or made prisoners. We cannot yet specify all the officers who signalized themselves in this day's action. General Tchernicheff took sixty officers, 1500 soldiers, and one piece of cannon. General Hirschfeldt, between seventy and eighty officers, and more than 2000 soldiers, besides seven cannon, many waggon loads of ammunition, and nearly all the enemy's baggage. The Prussian infantry required some repose, after such toilsome marches; but the Cossacks, under General Tchernicheff, pursued the enemy briskly; Colonel Benkendorff, on the evening of the 27th, passed through the enemy, and was at Gotzke. It is probable they will not escape; nor any, save the feeble remains of the corps of General Girard, towards Magdeburg or Wittenberg.

"That which more particularly reflected honour on the corps of General Hirschfeldt, was the forced marches which it executed immediately after this action. The young troops of the new levy, chiefly composed of the militia of the new marches, obtained a victory over an enemy superiour in number and in artillery. This proves what ardent patriotism, guided

by an able and active general, can perform. Saxons, Bavarians, Wurtemburgers! you have shewn your courage in a cause repugnant to the wishes and the interests of your country, and sustaining a foreign yoke, which could never exist if you were animated by motives truly noble and pure! Where is that power on the earth which united Germans, combating for the independence and the integrity of their country, could not successfully resist?

"General Thumen evinced great bravery in the actions which preceded the affairs of Gross Beren.—Although wounded, he continued to command in person. General O'Rourke displayed in all the actions with the enemy a great deal of coolness and talent.—Since the renewal of hostilities, the enemy's force opposed to that of the allies in the north of Germany, has lost more than 12,000 men. According to the reports of the generals, 7000 prisoners have been made, of whom 250 are officers, including several colonels and lieutenant-colonels.

August 29th, nine o'clock A. M.

"Lieutenant General Count Tauenzeen has detached General Wobeser to take possession of the town of Luckau. The latter summoned the commandant yesterday, and having met with a refusal, he bombarded the place. At the moment he was about to give the assault, the commandant capitulated; nine pieces of cannon, 1000 prisoners, and a considerable quantity of ammunition and stores, are the result of this brilliant operation."

SEVENTH BULLETIN.

"*Head-quarters, Belitz, August* 30, 1813.

"The Prince Royal removed his head-quarters to this place in the course of the day.

"From all the intelligence received by the prisoners of the corps of General Girard, that officer was killed in the affair of the 27th. General Paulitz received a violent contusion on the shoulder. He displayed much bravery and talent. Prisoners are hourly made, and the troops are in brisk pursuit of the enemy.

"General Borstel occupies Zinna and Juderbock, and has given, on every opportunity, proofs of his zeal and science.

"The enemy appeared disposed to concentrate yesterday, at Eckmansdorff and Kattenborn, between Wittenberg and Treuenbrietzen. The intelligence received this day from Generals Winzingerode and Woronzoff, leaves it no longer in doubt that the enemy have retired towards the Elbe. General Winzingerode pursues them with 8000 cavalry.

"General Woronzoff, who went to take the command of the Russian advanced guard, made an attack upon Juterbock the day before yesterday, towards night, with between 3 and 4,000 men, whilst the enemy had at least 20,000 in the town or very near it. A brisk cannonade put the enemy in great alarm. This operation was highly creditable to the talents of General Woronzoff, who, at the moment of its com-

mencement, was uninformed that a strong column was on its march to support him in case of necessity.

"All the army is upon the advance.

"The Grand Russian, Austrian, and Prussian army, under the command of Marshal Prince Schwartzenberg, debouched from Bohemia into Saxony, the 22d of August, taking a position on the left bank of the Elbe. The troops which the enemy had posted in the defiles were forced.* On the 25th, the head-quarters of the allies were before Dresden. The bombardment commenced, and the city was already in flames. The Emperour Napoleon arrived there on the 25th with his guard. The French army under his orders immediately quitted Lusatia and Silesia, and approached the Elbe. General Blucher marched from Jauer on the 25th, in the morning, and followed with all his forces.

"General Prince Koudaschoff, who was sent express from the camp before Dresden, by Prince Schwartzenberg, to his Royal Highness the Prince Royal, ar-

* On reconnoitring Dresden, the Allies found it to be considerably stronger than they had imagined. All its defences had been increased by Napoleon, who had fixed upon it as the main pivot of all his operations: and that able Chieftain had rendered it not only strong as a fortress, but extremely powerful as an entrenched camp, and such as could not, without excessive loss, have been carried by a *coup de main*. The Allies consequently encamped in its front, and their object was reduced to the point of maintaining this position, where they would be interposed between the French army and the Rhine.

Buonaparte, however, after compelling Marshal Blucher to retire upon Jauer, left Marshal Macdonald with a considerable force, occupying a strong position in front of the Prussian Marshal, whilst, with his guards and chosen troops, he made forced marches through Lusatia. He accomplished a journey of forty leagues in four days, and arrived at Dresden: where he was joined by large detachments from Marshal Ney's corps, and both that officer and Marshal Victor repaired in person to Dresden, to aid in repelling the Allies, who had taken possession of the out-posts. In this they succeeded; the Allies fell back, and took up their former position within the Bohemian frontiers.—J. P.

rived at eight this morning with this intelligence. The General traversed the enemy's army, crossed the Elbe, by swimming, with 200 Cossacks, between Reissa and Missen, and forced several posts. He has just set out to Liebenwerda, from thence he is to go to Dalme, where he will fall in with the first Prussian troops. In his march, he made six Polish officers prisoners, whom he brought with him: he joined the head-quarters of his Royal Highness without the loss of a man. Two of his Cossacks were wounded by sabres."

"EIGHTH BULLETIN.

"*Head-quarters, Treuenbrietzen, Sept.* 1, 1813.

"His Royal Highness removed his head-quarters to Bucholz on the 30th August, from whence it was shifted here yesterday at eight o'clock in the morning.

"The enemy had possession of the towns of Marzatin, Schwabeck, Eckmansdorff, and Feldheim. Cannon shots were yesterday exchanged between him and our reconnoitring corps. General Baron Adlercreutz was detached by his Royal Highness to view the enemy's position, and rode forward, accompanied by General Baron Tawast, within 400 paces of his batteries.

"The united army is collected together; the Prussian and Russian vanguard are in pursuit of the enemy, on the road to Wittenberg. A corps of Swedish troops, composed of Morner's regiment of hussars, two battalions of yagers, and four pieces of artillery, under the command of Adjutant-general Baron Ce-

dorstrom, is joined with the Russian vanguard. General Tchernicheff's and Colonel Brendell's light troops swarm about the enemy. The Generals Tauenzeen and Hirschfeldt direct their motions by those of the army, and are in connexion with it.

"The Prince of Eckmuhl, still continued in his position near Schwerin, on the 28th of August. His Royal Highness has this day sent of General Bjonstierna with a flag off truce to the French advanced posts, to deliver the commandant of Luckau's capitulation."

Extract of an Official Letter from Treuenbrietzen, of the 3d September.

"The enemy has this morning been attacked and driven out of the position he occupied, and, as it appears, has thrown himself into Wittenberg. We are as yet uninformed of the details of this affair.

"The town of Zahna has been burnt down. The Prince Royal has fixed his head-quarters at Rodigke, a town situated near Niemeck, and two German miles from Treuenbrietzen.

NINTH BULLETIN.

"*Head-quarters, Rodigke, Sept. 4, 1813.*

"The Prince Royal removed his head-quarters to Buchlaoltz, on the 30th August, on the 31st to Treuenbrietzen, and yesterday to this place. Luckau is one of those points on the frontiers of Saxony, which the enemy had fortified with the greatest assiduity during the armistice. He reckoned to be able to defend it long-

er, and did not expect to see us there so soon. We give the capitulation of this place afterwards. The Prince Royal has ordered that the neighbouring mountain shall be fortified; 600 men are at work on it.—The suburbs will be razed, and by this means the garrison of Luckau will be able to defend itself.

"The ground, which is very much broken to some leagues from Wittenberg, favoured the enemy's retreat, and prevented the light cavalry from acting.—He has notwithstanding been forced from time to time, in his different positions.

"On the 30th August, General Winzingerode, had his head-quarters at Niemeck, General Blucher had his at Treuenbrietzen, and on the 1st September at Frohnsdorff. On the 2d September this general's corps advanced into the position of Schwabegh and Feldhum, his advanced guard being at Marzahner.

"The enemy garrisoned Kropstadt, but defiled during the night, and at break of day his rear guard commenced its retreat. General Borstell pursued him as far as Thiesen.

"The enemy commenced a heavy cannonade and fire of musketry to cover this position, but General Borstell's advanced posts sustained themselves before the defiles of Kopping, 2000 paces from Thiesen: the division of Colonel Kraft ascended the heights of Kropstadt to support General Borstell.

"At the same time General Dobschutz made himself master of the heights of the town of Zalina. His communication with General Borstell was kept up by

the post of Wollersdorff, of which Major Blyer had taken possession. The rest of General Bulow's corps took possession of Marralieu.

"The Prussian division, under the command of Colonel Krafft, has principally contributed to the success of the affair at Gross Beren, and the commander has distinguished himself by his intrepidity. The Prince of Hesse Homberg's corps has likewise taken an active share in the engagements which took place; and the Prince has, on every occasion, given proofs of his valour and activity. The enemy being hard pressed on his left by the Generals Woronzoff, O'Rourke, and Tchernicheff, made some attempts from the side of Caswig, but was always repulsed with loss.

"On the 3d September, Lieutenant-colonel Zzbacha was detached by General Woronzoff to take possession of a wood near Schmilkendorff, and executed his orders with good success. Being afterwards surrounded by the enemy with four times his numbers, he still faced them, and cleared his way in good order, and with very little loss. Schmilkendorff was again garrisoned by General Woronzoff.

"The French corps de armée which had advanced to Schwerin, still remained there on the 2d inst. it has detached the Danish division to Gadasbusch, to cover the rear.

"General Tettenborn continued to disturb the enemy's communications, and alarm his advanced posts. He took near Gadesbusch a transport of forty wag-

gons, with provisions and ammunition, after having killed and dispersed its escort.

"The consequences of the victory gained by General Blucher on the 26th on the Katzbach, are decisive. The result of that action on the 30th amounted to more than 14,000 prisoners, 80 pieces of artillery, and 300 ammunition waggons. The whole French division of General Pulhod on the 29th ult. laid down their arms at Lowenberg, with the exception of three or 400 men, who threw themselves into the Bober. General Blucher, on the 30th of August, had his head-quarters at Holstein, near Lowenberg, and continued briskly in pursuit of the enemy. General Benningsen, with his corps d'armée, arrived at Breslau on the 30th, from whence he proceeded to Leignitz, marching on the same line with General Blucher."

On the 5th September, at night, the Prince Royal was informed that a very considerable corps of French troops had debouched from Wittenberg at ten, A. M. and proceeded upon Zahna, occupied by the Prussian General Dobschutz. It was at first thought that this movement, and the attacks made the same time upon the villages of Zalmsdorff and Wattersdorff, had no other object than to cover a retreat upon Torgau. Later in the evening, General Bulow reported to the Prince Royal, that the enemy had carried Zahna and Leyda, and pressed warmly upon the corps of Tauenzeen, on the road to Juterbock. His Royal Highness, in consequence, marched with his whole army at two

in the morning, to proceed by a movement on the left upon the enemy's flank, and give him battle. The tenth and eleventh bulletins furnish the details.

TENTH BULLETIN.

"Head-quarters, Juterbock, Sept. 6, 1812.

"The Prince Royal transferred his head-quarters to Rabenstein on the 4th of this month.

"At the moment when his Royal Highness had commenced a movement, in order to advance with the Russian and Swedish army to Roslau,* with an intention of there crossing the Elbe, and of taking the direction of Leipzig, his Royal Highness learnt that the enemy, after having made a demonstration of passing over to the left side of the river, had suddenly returned into his entrenchments of Teuchel and Tragun, in advance of Wittenberg. This sudden return afforded a presumption, either that he intended to attack the combined army in their passage across the Elbe, or to make a rapid march upon Berlin.

"The Prince Royal slackened the pace of his troops, and announced that it should take place the following day; two battalions, a Swedish and a Prussian, were dispatched to Roslau, under the orders of Lieutenant Colonel Holst, aide-de-camp to his Royal Highness, in order to collect all materials necessary for the construction of a bridge.

* His Royal Highness took with him the Swedish and Russian troops; while General Tauenzeen was left with 40,000 Prussians at Juterbock, for the purpose of covering Berlin.

"The reports of the outpost announced every moment, that the enemy's army was marching upon Zahna. This post, occupied by the corps of General Dobschutz, belonging to the corps d'armée of General Count Tauenzeen, was attacked by a very superiour force on the 4th September, in the afternoon, and maintained its ground with great bravery.

"The enemy having been repulsed in several attacks, re-entered his entrenchments before Wittenberg.

"Next day, the 5th of September, most murderous attacks were renewed against Zahna, and in spite of the courage displayed by General Dobschutz, with the troops under his orders, that position was carried. The same was the case, after an obstinate resistance, with respect to the post of Seyda, occupied by the corps of Tauenzeen.

"The reports of the country people, of the outposts, and of secret agents, announced positively that the enemy was taking the route of Torgau. These accounts came in every hour: only one single person brought word that the enemy intended to proceed to Juterbock."

ELEVENTH BULLETIN.

"BATTLE OF DENNEVITZ.

"*Juterbock, Sept.* 8, 1813.

"The Prince Royal set out on the 6th of September, at three o'clock in the morning, from Rabenstein,

and collected the Swedish and Russian armies upon the heights of Lobessen. His Royal Highness was waiting the reports of General Tauenzeen, whom he thought farther advanced, when he received an account from General Bulow, announcing that the whole army of the enemy was in full march upon Juterbock.* The Prince Royal ordered him to attack immediately the flank and rear of the enemy, before General Tauenzeen, who defended the approaches of the town, should be overwhelmed by numbers. The Swedish army, who had been marching upwards of two German miles, proceeded to Juterbock, which was yet distant three German miles, and was followed by the Russian army, with the exception of the advanced guard, under the orders of Count Woronzoff, and of the corps of General Tchernicheff, which continued before Wittenberg. The cannonade and musketry began immediately between the Prussian troops and the army of the enemy. The Russian and Swedish corps, after their forced marches, were obliged to halt for a moment, in order to form in the order of battle. The Prussian army, at most 40,000 men strong, sustained in the mean while, with a courage truly heroic, the repeated efforts of 70,000 of the enemy supported by 200 pieces of cannon. The struggle was unequal and murderous. The Prussian troops, however, were not disconcerted even for one moment; and if some battalions were obliged to yield for an instant the ground which they had gained, it was only for the purpose of re-oc-

* The allies having retired from before Dresden, Marshal Ney returned to his corps, and brought with him the detachments which had been withdrawn from it to strengthen the position of Buonaparte at Dresden; and finding that the Prince Royal's army was divided, he formed the design of attacking one of them separately. That part of the army which had been brought to the left bank of the Elbe, in order to oppose the enterprizes of his Royal Highness, now altered its movements, and suddenly repassed at Wittenberg, and marched upon Juterbock, where General Tauenzeen's corps was posted.—J. P.

cupying it the moment after. Whilst this was passing, 70 battalions of Russians and Swedes, 10,000 horse of both nations, and 150 pieces of artillery, advanced in columns of attack, leaving intermediate spaces for deploying. Four thousand Russian and Swedish cavalry had advanced in full speed to support some points whither the enemy principally directed his attack. Their appearance began to check him, and the appearance of the columns did the rest. The fate of the battle was instantly decided. The enemy's army beat a retreat; the cavalry charged them with a boldness resembling fury, and carried disorder into their columns, which retreated with great precipitation upon the route of Zahna.

"The enemy's force was composed of four corps d'armée—those of Marshal Duke of Reggio, of Genrals Bertrand and Regnier, and of that of the Duke of Padua, and of from three to four thousand Polish troops, foot and horse, the whole under the command of the Marshal Prince of Moskwa. The result of this battle, which was fought near the village of Dennevitz, by the name of which it will be called, was already, yesterday morning, five thousand prisoners, three standards, from five-and-twenty to thirty pieces of cannon, and upwards of two hundred ammunition waggons. The field of battle, and the road over which the enemy passed, are strewed with dead and wounded, and with a quantity of arms; six thousand of the former have already been collected. Vigorously pursued, the enemy, who appeared willing to proceed to Torgau, will not reach the Elbe before he has suffered losses yet more considerable. So early as yesterday evening, General Wobeser, who had been ordered to proceed with 5000 men from Luckau upon

Zahna, attacked in that town, where the Prince de la Moskwa and the Dukes of Reggio and of Padua had taken up their quarters, part of the enemy's army that intended to go to Dresden, and made 2500 prisoners. Major Helwig, with five hundred horse, advanced upon Sweinitz and Hertzberg, and attacked a column of the enemy in the night, taking 600 prisoners and eight pieces of cannon. General O'Rourke, at the head of his cavalry, has made upwards of one thousand prisoners, and taken several pieces of cannon. The light troops were every day bringing in more; and General Regnier remained a long time exposed to the fire of our sharp-shooters, in the situation of a man desirous of death. We may estimate that the enemy has lost, up to this moment, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, from sixteen to eighteen thousand men, more than fifty pieces of cannon, and four hundred ammunition waggons. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded must have been immense. Half of the escort of the Prince de la Moskwa was killed; Marshal Duke de Reggio charged himself the infantry of the Count de Tauenzeen. The loss of Prussian troops is great, and amounts to between four and 5000 men in killed and wounded. However, the results of the day ought to contribute to the consolation of every true patriot, who will find the triumph of the cause of his country insured by the death of these brave men. The Swedish and Russian troops, have lost little.

"The corps vied with each other in courage and devotion. The heroic example shewn on this occasion by the Prussian army is calculated to exist for ever in the annals of military fame, and to inspire all those who fight for the independence of Germany. The Rus-

sian and Swedish troops who took part in the engagement, have valiantly seconded the efforts of their brethren in arms. General Bulow has displayed the coolness and bravery of a warriour, who has no other object than the glory of his king, and the defence of his country. The officers under his command have imitated his honourable example. The Prince of Hesse Hombourg, Generals Oppen, Borstel, and Thumen, and Colonel Krafft, have distinguished themselves in the most brilliant manner.

"General the Count de Tauenzeen has continued to give proofs of his talents and *sang froid*. He has, during nearly the whole affair, sustained most vigorous and repeated attacks of the enemy, and has been of great assistance towards the successful result of the struggle, as much by the boldness he has shewn, as by the admirable choice of his position.

"The Russian General Count de Manteuffel distinguished himself in charging at the head of his brigade. Generals Woronzoff, Tchernicheff, Benckendorff, and Hirshfeldt, having been placed much in advance upon the right wing of the army were not enabled to assist in the engagement; but they have materially contributed to our success by the positions which they occupied.

"Marshal the Count de Stedinck, and General the Baron de Winzingerode, the generals, officers and men under their command, regretted that the precipitate retreat of the enemy at their approach, did not leave them the opportunity of rendering their destruction complete, by a simultaneous attack. The wind and the great clouds of dust, for a long time, prevented

the Russian and Swedish armies from distinguishing each other, notwithstanding that they marched in concert and upon the same line.

"The Prince Royal has been constantly attended by his staff. General the Baron de Adlercreutz did not leave him until he had received directions to proceed to the right of the Prussian army with several pieces of cannon, under the direction of Colonel Cardill. This General has entirely fulfilled the intentions of his Royal Highness, and he daily acquires new claims upon his esteem and friendship.

"He is also much satisfied with the zeal of Generals the Baron de Tawast, and the Count de Lowenhielm. Generals the Baron de Suchtelen, de Vincent, de Krusemark, and Pozzo di Borgo, have constantly attended near the Prince Royal's person.

"A solemn *Te Deum* has this day been chaunted in every corps of the army, for the advantages which have been gained by the combined forces since the commencement of hostilities.

"Among the prisoners are a number of Saxons, who have requested permission to form themselves into a Saxon legion, to fight in behalf of the independence of the Sovereigns, and of the liberty of Germany. The Prince Royal has complied with their offer, persuaded that the devotion of these brave men will prove satisfactory to the allied powers."

TWELFTH BULLETIN.

"*Head-quarters, Juterbock, Sept.* 10, 1813.

"The last was of the 8th inst. Every day brings fresh proof that the consequences* of the battle of Dennevitz are of greater weight than were at first expected. It is already calculated that 10,000 prisoners, 80 cannon, upwards of 400 ammunition waggons, three pair of colours, and one standard were taken. After General Wobeser had put to flight the enemy's army at Zahna, it continued its retreat on Torgau. Our light troops did not desist from following him and taking prisoners, ammunition waggons, and baggage. The enemy has broken down the bridges over the Ester, in the vicinity of Annaberg and Hertzberg.

"The cavalry, indeed, may cross the river, but the bridges must be repaired before the artillery can be got over it. Eight hundred prisoners were taken close to the téte-de-pont at Torgau, and some battalions, which found it impossible to reach Torgau, have turned towards Muhlberg, and taken their route towards Dresden.

"The Marshal Prince Von Eckmuhl had, in the night between the 2d and 3d of September, left Schwerin with the whole of his army. Considering the strong position in which he was, this motion appears

* The consequences of this and the other successes of the Prince Royal's army were immense. They more than compensated for the temporary advantages Buonaparte had acquired by repelling the allies from before Dresden. The losses of the enemy were great in men, ammunition, and artillery, and Buonaparte became sensible that his forces which at the termination of the armistice, as already observed, were equal in point of numbers to the allies, were now considerably inferiour.—J. P.

to be a consequence of the progress made by the allied army on the side of Saxony. The enemy had time enough to put every thing in readiness for his retreat, so that we could not come up with his artillery and baggage: he had, besides, a great start of Generals Wallmoden's and Vegesack's corps: the first of which was at Crewitz, and the latter near the Warin.

"The corps d'armée under the Prince of Eckmuhl marched, in two columns, on the road from Gadesbusch and Rhena, and halted about half a German mile from Ratzeburg.

"General Loisson's division retreated in the same direction from Wismar through Grevesmuhlen to Schenberg. At this place the Danish troops separated from the French. The latter marched to Ratzeburg, and the first to Lubeck, where they left a garrison, and afterwards encamped farther off, at Oldelsohe. The whole French army has retired across the Steiknitz, on the banks of which intrenchments are thrown, and they have destroyed all the means of crossing the river. The enemy's loss in this hasty retreat exceeds 1000 men, of whom upwards of 600 have been taken prisoners. The Cossacks of the corps of Lutzow and Von Reiche, with the Hanseatic cavalry, have made several attacks on the enemy's rear-guard. On General Vegesack's side the enemy was pursued under the guns of Lubeck.

"Major Armine, who commanded the Hanseatic cavalry with great ability, was there killed by a cannon ball.

"The Mecklenberg yagers attacked a Danish

squadron in the vicinity of Dessau, and caused it a considerable loss.

"General Vegesack has again taken his position at Grevesmuhlen. General Count Wallmoden had again returned to Schwerin, but marched from there to Domitz, where he caused a bridge to be built to cross the Elbe, on the ground of a part of the enemy's force being detached to the left side of the river.

"General Tettenborn's advanced posts stand near Boitzenburg.

"The Danes have committed many acts of violence in Mecklenberg. It is most remarkable that they are commanded by a Prince of Hesse, whose family is declared to have forfeited their possessions by the Emperour Napoleon, and who, nevertheless, serves that Monarch, under the command of the Prince of Eckmuhl.

"Wittenberg is blockaded by General Tchernicheff. A number of troops are observing Mecklenberg on the right bank of the Elbe. The remains of General Girard's corps have escaped into that fortress from the left bank of the Elbe. The sallies of the garrison are now restrained to felling of wood in the forest of Biederitz, which is done merely to destroy the forest, which belongs to the King of Prussia.

"The advanced posts of General Tauenzeen's corps stand at Singtenberg. Elsterwerda, and Ratland; and reconnoitring parties are pushed as far as Hoyerswerda, and into the vicinity of Grossen Hayn. The light Russian troops stand along the Elbe as far as

Muhlberg, and keep Torgau inclined at a short distance. Swedish, Russian, and Prussian detachments, are sent into the vicinity of Bautzen, to fall in with the corps of Generals Benningsen and Blucher.

"General Vandamme's corps d'armée was annihilated on the 30th August, on the road from Toplitz to Peterswalde. This general, with five other generals, and 15,000 men, were made prisoners; 80 pieces of artillery were taken.

"After these favourable affairs, the combined army moved again forward from Bohemia, into Saxony; and the 5th September marched by the way of Peterswalde and Altenberg, against Pirna and Dippoldswald. Strong detachments, supported by large bodies of reserve, are directed into the enemy's rear to cut off his communications. During this time the Emperour Napoleon had again gone towards Silesia, with his guards and some other troops.

"The Prince of Moskwa was to cover his left flank, and after that he should have beaten the army under his Royal Highness, was to have turned a part of his force against Neisse. The occurrences on the 6th have spoiled this plan; the army of the Prince of Moskwa is dispersed; it has lost two thirds of its artillery, all its ammunition and baggage and upwards of 20,000 men.

"The Emperour Napoleon is retiring on Dresden,*

* Buonaparte had advanced into Bohemia with the intention of attacking the Austro-Russian army: they occupied, however, too formidable a position to justify an engagement, and Buonaparte therefore marched back to the Elbe, for the purpose of preventing Marshal Blucher obtaining possession of Dresden: the latter now fell back

the army of General Blucher pursues him, and will probably occasion him great loss. In this manner the army of the North of Germany communicates already, by its left, with that of Silesia. The army of General Benningsen follows the movements of the latter.

"A Swedish convoy passing through the Sound on the 2d of this month, was attacked by the Danish gunboats. They occasioned no loss, and were instantly repulsed. A claim has been made, on the Danish side, because the Swedish merchant vessels no longer pay the duty of the Sound. This passage belongs in common to the two bordering Powers. It is just that Sweden should no longer pay any duty; and it is to be expected, that, if Denmark does not adopt a system more analogous to her interests, and to the dignity of her people, the Sound duties will be abolished for ever and for every Power, before the end of the year.

"At the battle of Dennevitz, the Russian General Baron de Pahlen, at the head of the hussar regiment of Izum, and the dragoon regiments of Riga and Finland, made a brilliant charge, between the left of General Borstell and the right of General Bulow, and took eight pieces of cannon from the enemy.

"All the prisoners aver, that the Russian and Swedish artillery, by the accuracy of their fire, and the boldness of their attack, produced the greatest effect, and caused much loss to the enemy. The Prussian army bears the same testimony.

"The General Baron Winzingerode praises highly

towards the frontiers of Silesia; and the Austro-Russian army again advanced towards Dresden. Napoleon immediately marched to that capital, and the Austro-Russian army retired, whilst Marshal Blucher again advanced.—J. P.

the zeal and talents of the Chief of his Staff, General Remy. The Prince Royal has observed his conduct with satisfaction on many occasions, and particularly in the last battle.

"The Swedish army remembered with pride, that one of its greatest Captains, the Field Marshal Count Torstenson, had already given renown to the fields of Juterbock, by the victory which he gained there in 1644. The Swedish troops bivouacked, the night of the 6th, nearly on the same ground."

THIRTEENTH BULLETIN.

"*Head-quarters, Seyda, Sept.* 12, 1813.

"The Prince Royal moved his head-quarters to this place yesterday evening.

"Many of the officers made prisoners at the bridge of Torgau, affirmed yesterday that the Prince of Moskwa was dead. Others say that they saw him in the téte-de-pont, exhorting the troops to defend it.—The same officers also relate, that a few moments before the Swedish and Russian columns appeared in the plain, the Prince of Moskwa put himself at the head of the reserve, composed of two divisions, and exclaimed, in marching towards the Prussian army, "Victory is ours; in two days we shall be in Berlin." He, however, slackened his pace, on seeing the multitude of battalions which were arriving, and disorder became complete on the arrival of the cavalry.

"The divisions of the Prussian army which have

suffered the most, are re-organizing and repairing their loss. It is difficult to display more bravery or more perseverance than the young Prussian soldiers have shewn. The battalion of Landwehr may even now be compared with the best troops in Europe.

"There exists no jealousies in the combined army. It presents a picture of a family of brave men, who have sworn to conquer, or to perish in defence of the honour of their sovereign and the liberty of Europe.

"General Winzingerode has already moved across the Elbe some thousands of Cossacks, and General Tchernicheff already occupies Dessau and Cothen.

"The army is on the Elbe, and materials are collected at many points for the passage of that river.

"Three thousand of the Prussian landstrum have passed the Elbe at Lenzen, for the purpose of protecting the former subjects of Prussia.

"The landstrum of Swedish Pomerania, has already been in active service. Two thousand burghers of Stralsund have voluntarily offered to work upon the fortifications of that place.

"The reports of our secret agents at Leipzig, state, that couriers had arrived there, announcing the entry of the Austrian troops into Munich."

FOURTEENTH BULLETIN.

"*Head-quarters, Koswig, Sept.* 14, 1813.

"The Prince Royal removed his head-quarters to this place the day before yesterday.

"The army has made a general movement to the Elbe. It is engaged with the means of having strong points upon that river, in order to assist the grand army.

"The armies of the centre, commanded by Generals Blucher and Benningsen, are approaching Dresden. The Swedish Captain Platen, of the Morner hussars, who was sent to effect a junction with General Blucher, has accomplished that purpose in the vicinity of Bautzen.

"The ardent wish of Napoleon to annihilate the combined army of the North of Germany, has occasioned that sovereign to lose much time and many men, in marches and counter-marches. In order to support the operations of Marshal the Prince of Moskwa, he sent the corps of the Duke of Ragusa to Hoyerswerda, on the 7th of September. This corps, about 25,000 strong, had orders to proceed to Berlin, and to effect a junction there with the Prince of Moskwa. A strong detachment was, hereupon, to be sent upon the right flank of General Blucher, and to force him to

About this period the Emperour of Austria conferred on the Prince Royal of Sweden, the Grand Cross of the Military Order of Maria Theresa.

retreat. The Duke of Ragusa arrived early on the 8th at Hoyerswerda; but on receiving the intelligence of the battle of Dennevitz, he hastily retreated two hours afterwards, marching by way of Konigsbruck to Dresden, which the Emperour Napoleon, who was before him, entered on the morning of the 9th.

"Twice did the Emperour Napoleon, with his guards, and the corps of the Duke of Ragusa, make offensive movements upon the left of the army of Germany; and twice was he compelled by circumstances, to retire with precipitation and loss.

"In the retreat of the 8th, the corps of the Duke of Ragusa was attacked at Hoyerswerda by the detachment of Colonel Figner, of the Russian guards. The Colonel, at the head of 800 horse, pursued the Duke of Ragusa to Konigsbruck, killed many of the men belonging to his rear, and took a thousand prisoners.—Continuing without intermission the pursuit of the enemy's rear, this officer fell in with baggage, took the greatest part of it, killed a great number of men, and carried off with him 400 draught horses. Turning upon this towards Grossenhayn, he put to the rout two squadrons of the enemy, belonging to Girardin's division. Persons whom this officer had sent to Dresden, assured him on his return that that city was provided with no more than a fortnight's necessaries for the army, and that there was nothing left for the inhabitants.

"The Saxon Court, formerly so happy and so tranquil, now sees its capital exposed to all the horrours of a siege. The King himself, so lately blessed by his subjects, is a wretched witness of the calamities which

oppress his people, without the possibility of alleviating them, without any other prospect than that of seeing them still farther aggravated.

"The Saxon nation is sensible of its own and its Sovereign's degradation; it is desirous of resuming its rank among independent States; a patriotic spirit is already manifested; and soon will there be seen in Saxony 100,000 hands, armed in defence of the interests of Germany, and the great cause of Europe.

"The Saxon legion is forming at the same time with that of Baden, and the Germans can demonstrate that they are worthy of their forefathers. It is to be hoped in a short time, all the nations from the coast of the Baltic to the right bank of the Rhine, will rise in a mass to drive back the oppressors of the Continent to the left bank of that river. Fear cannot longer deter them, for 400,000 victorious warriours are ready at all points to support and assist them.

"The Allies have no designs against France; they love, they respect the French; but they are determined to be governed by their own Princes and their own laws. If the French of the present day are worthy of that glorious name, they will cease to fight for a cause which has already brought such calamities upon mankind, and which exposes their reputation to so much danger.

"According to intelligence from Italy, the Viceroy has been completely routed by the army of General Hiller.

"A deserter who has this moment arrived from

Leipzig, reports, that the Duke of Dalmatia (Soult,) has again been beaten on French ground by the Marquis of Wellington.

"The illness of General Lagerbring, chief of the staff of the Swedish army, deprives the army of his services for a time. General Von Sparre supplies his place, and will perform his duties, as far as his other occupations will permit.

"Prince Charles of Mecklenberg Schwerin has taken the command of the landstrum of that country.

"Small Swedish detachments have already passed the Elbe, and exchanged some musket shots with the French advanced posts."

FIFTEENTH BULLETIN.

"*Head-quarters, Zerbst, Sept.* 16, 1813.

"The Prince Royal yesterday removed his head-quarters to this town. General Tchernicheff will pass the Elbe to-day with a corps of cavalry and artillery; he will strike terrour into the rear of the enemy, and effect a junction with the partizans of the grand army of Bohemia.

"The Russian Captain Fabeck, belonging to the corps of General Tchernicheff, who had already passed the Elbe, has advanced to Naumburg, where he found General Thielmann with about 1000 horse. Captain Fabeck, who had only eighty Cossacks with him, attacked the enemy at Querfurt, and took pri-

soners a Bavarian colonel, a French lieutenant-colonel, forty officers, and 500 privates. He delivered the soldiers over to a Cossack regiment of General Thielmann's corps, and has sent all the officers to this side of the river.

"Accounts from Cassel state, that the utmost consternation prevails in that city and the adjacent country: the members of the diplomatic corps are making preparations for their departure. The French minister Reinhardt manifests great uneasiness.

"The Prince of Eckmuhl still occupies the line behind the Stecknitz, and on the 12th inst. had his headquarters at Ratzeburg. He had detached General Pecheux with 8 or 9000 men to Magdeburg. General Count Wallmoden was apprised of this movement by letters which had been intercepted on the left bank of the Elbe. He proceeded with part of his force to Domitz, to watch the motions of the enemy, and, if opportunity should offer, to act offensively against him.

"The advanced guard of general Blucher's army was on the 13th at Bautzen, and continued its movement upon Dresden, pursuing the French troops as they retreated. Intelligence was received yesterday from General Wobeser, who is at Talkenberg, before Herzberg, where General Tauenzeen has his headquarters, states that two of the enemy's corps d'armée, under the command of the King of Naples, with thirteen regiments of cavalry, were upon the right bank of the Elbe. The patroles advanced to the position of General Wobeser, and attempted to intercept a convoy of provisions, but without success.

"Generals Blucher and Benningsen will give a good account of these two corps, should they not return to the left bank of the Elbe. General Tauenzeen will accordingly act in concert with the allied army, whose left wing he forms.

"The head-quarters of the Swedish troops are at Roslau. The van is already on the left bank of the Elbe, and pushes its advanced posts to Dessau. General Bulow has his head-quarters before Wittenberg, the siege of which will immediately commence. The garrison of this place has been re-inforced."

PROCLAMATION.

The Prince Royal of Sweden to the Saxons.

"Saxons!

"The combined army of the North of Germany has passed your frontiers, not to wage war with the people of your country, but only to attack its oppressors.

"You cannot but ardently wish for the success of our arms, whose sole object is to revive your ruined prosperity, and to restore to your government its splendour and independence. We continue to consider all Saxons as friends. Your property shall be respected, the army shall observe the strictest discipline, and its wants shall be supplied in the manner the least burthensome to the country. Forsake not your houses, and pursue your usual occupations as before.

"Soon will important events deliver us from the danger of an ambitious policy. Be the worthy descendants

of the Saxons of old, and if German blood must flow, let it be but for the independence of Germany, and not for the pleasure of one single individual, to whom you are bound by no tie, by no common interest. France is fine and extensive enough; the conquerours of antiquity would have been content with such an empire. The French themselves wish to return within the limits which nature herself has prescribed them: they hate tyranny, even though they are subservient to it. Venture at length to tell them that ye are resolved to be free, and these same French will admire you, and will themselves encourage you to persevere in your generous undertaking.

"CHARLES JOHN.

"*Head-quarters, Juterbock,*
"*Sept.* 10, 1813."

About this period the Prince Royal addressed the annexed letter to Buonaparte. This is a document which every one must feel gratified in reading: it breathes a spirit of the highest dignity, and is a master-piece in point of composition. It must undoubtedly ensure to the Prince Royal no less praise for pure and chastened feeling, than for clear and lofty views of policy. The Prince Royal expresses in beautiful language a manly sorrow for the evils which Buonaparte has inflicted on France; and whilst he entreats him to be contented with that kingdom, he avows that he has taken the field to drive him, if he will not retire peaceably, behind the Rhine.

Copy of a letter from his Royal Highness the Prince Royal to Buonaparte.

"As long as your Imperial Majesty acted, or caused others to act against me only directly, I deemed it proper to oppose to you nothing but calmness or silence; but now, when the note of the Duke of Bassano to M. D'Ohsson endeavours to throw between the King and me the same firebrand of discord which facilitated to your Majesty the entrance into Spain, all ministerial relations having been broken, I address myself directly to you, for the purpose of reminding you of the faithful and open conduct of Sweden, even in the most difficult times.

"To the communications which M. Signeul was charged to make by order of your Imperial Majesty, the King caused it to be replied, that Sweden, convinced that it was only to you, Sire, that she owed the loss of Finland, could never believe in your friendship for her, unless you procured Norway to be given to her, to indemnify her for the mischief which your policy had caused her.

"With regard to all that is contained in the note of the Duke of Bassano, respecting the invasion of Pomerania, and the conduct of the French privateers, facts speak for themselves; and on comparing the dates, it will be seen whether your Majesty or the Swedish government is correct.

"A hundred Swedish ships had been captured, and more than 200 seamen put in irons, when this government saw itself compelled to cause a pirate to be seized, who, under the French flag, entered our very ports to

carry off our ships, and to insult our confidence in treaties.

"The Duke of Bassano says, that your Majesty did not provoke the war with Russia; and yet, Sire, your Majesty passed the Niemen with 400,000 men.

"From the moment when your Majesty plunged into the interiour of that empire, the issue was no longer doubtful. The Emperour Alexander and the King, already, in the month of August, foresaw the termination of the campaign, and its prodigious results: all military combinations seemed to guarantee that your Majesty would be a prisoner. You escaped that danger, Sire; but your army, the *elite* of France, of Germany, and of Italy, exists no more! There lie, unburied, the brave men who served France at Fleurus—Frenchmen, who conquered in Italy—who survived the burning clime of Egypt—and who fixed victory under your colours at Marengo, at Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland!

"May your soul be softened, Sire, at this heart-rending picture; but should it be necessary to complete the effect, recollect also the death of more than a million of Frenchmen, lying on the field of honour, victims of the wars which your Majesty has undertaken.

"Your Majesty invokes your rights to the friendship of the King! Permit me to remind you, Sire, of the little value your Majesty attached to it, at times when a reciprocity of sentiment would have been very useful to Sweden. When the King, after having lost Finland, wrote to your Majesty to beg you to preserve for Sweden the Isles of Aland, you replied to him, 'apply

to the Emperour Alexander—he is great and generous;' and to fill up the measure of your indifference, you caused it to be inserted in the official journal (*Moniteur* of the 21st of September, 1810,) at the moment of my departure for Sweden, that there had been an *interregnum* in that kingdom, during which the English were carrying on their commerce with impunity.

"The King broke off from the coalition of 1792, because it was the object of that coalition to partition France, and he would have no hand in the dismemberment of that fine monarchy: he was led to that measure, a monument of his political wisdom, as much by his attachment to the French people, as by a wish to heal the wounds of that kingdom. That wise and virtuous policy, founded on the principle that every nation has a right to govern itself by its own laws, its usages, and its own will, is the very same which regulates him at the present moment.

"Your system, Sire, would interdict to nations the exercise of that right which they have received from nature—that of trading with each other, of mutually assisting each other, of corresponding and living in peace; and yet the very existence of Sweden depends upon an extension of commercial relations, without which she would be insufficient for her own subsistence.

"Far from perceiving in the conduct of the King any change of system, every enlightened and impartial man will find in it nothing but the continuation of a just and steady policy, which was manifested at a period when the Sovereigns coalesced against the liberty of France; and which is now pursued with energy, at a time when the French government continues to conspire against the liberty of nations and of Sovereigns.

"I know the good dispositions of the Emperour Alexander, and of the cabinet of St. James's towards peace—the calamities of the continent demand it, and your Majesty ought not to spurn it. Possessed of the finest monarchy upon earth, would you be always extending its limits, and transmit to an arm less powerful than yours, the wretched inheritance of interminable wars? Will not your Majesty apply yourself to the healing of the wounds inflicted by a revolution, of which there is nothing left to France but the recollections of its military glory, and real calamities within its interiour? Sire, the lessons of history repel the idea of an universal monarchy; and the sentiment of independence may be deadened, but cannot be effaced from the heart of nations. May your Majesty weigh all these considerations, and at last really think of that general peace, the profaned name of which has caused so much blood to flow. I was born, Sire, in that fine France which you govern;—its glory and prosperity can never be indifferent to me: but without ceasing to form wishes for its happiness, I will defend with all the powers of my soul, both the rights of the people who invited me, and the honour of the Sovereign who has condescended to call me his son. In this contest between the liberty of the world and oppression, I will say to the Swedes—'I fight for you, and with you; and the good wishes of all free nations will accompany our efforts.'

"In politics, Sire, neither friendship nor hatred has place—there are only duties to fulfil towards the nations whom Providence has summoned us to govern: their laws and their privileges are the blessings which are dear to them; and if, in order to preserve them, one is compelled to renounce old connexions and fam-

ily affections, the Prince who wishes to perform his duty, can never hesitate which course to adopt.

"The Duke of Bassano announces, that your Majesty will avoid the *éclat* of a rupture; but, Sire, was it not your Majesty who interrupted our commercial relations, by ordering the capture of Swedish vessels in the bosom of peace? Was it not the rigour of your orders which forbid us every kind of communication with the continent for three years, and which, since that period, caused more than fifty Swedish vessels to be detained at Wismar, Rostock, and other ports of the Baltic.

"The Duke of Bassano adds, that your Majesty will never change your system, and will consider this as a civil war; which indicates that your Majesty means to retain Swedish Pomerania, and will not renounce the hope of giving law to Sweden, and thus degrading, without running any risk, the Swedish name and character. By the phrase 'civil war,' you doubtless mean a war between Allies; but we know the fate to which you destine them.

"If the events which have occurred for these four months past have induced you to throw upon your generals the disarming and the sending of the Swedish troops of Pomerania as prisoners of war into France, it will not be so easy to find a pretext to shew that your Majesty never wished to confirm the judgments of the council of prizes; and that you did not make particular exceptions against Sweden, even when that tribunal decided in our favour. Besides, Sire, no one in Europe will misunderstand the blame which you throw upon your generals.

"The note of the King's minister for foreign affairs, and the answer which M. de Cabre returned on the fourth of January, 1812, will prove to you, Sire, that his Majesty had even anticipated your wishes by setting at liberty all the crews of the privateers. The government afterwards carried its consideration so far as to send back some Portuguese, Algerines, and Negroes, who, taken on board the same privateers, called themselves the subjects of your Majesty. There could not be the slightest reason, therefore, why your Majesty should not have ordered the return of the Swedish officers and soldiers, and yet they still groan under confinement.

"With regard to the threats contained in the note of the Duke of Bassano, and the 40,000 men whom your Majesty intends giving to Denmark, I do not think it becomes me to enter into discussion on these subjects, and the rather because I doubt very much whether the King of Denmark can avail himself of that succour.

"With regard to my personal ambition—it is lofty, I acknowledge it: it has for its object to serve the cause of humanity, and to secure the independence of the Scandinavian Peninsula: to attain that end, I confide in the justice of that cause which the King has commanded me to defend, upon the perseverance of the nation, and the fidelity of its allies.

(Signed) "CHARLES JOHN."

We must now return to the active military operations carried on by the Prince Royal. The attention of all Europe was fixed on them: the most sanguine hopes were generally entertained that success, in its

fullest measure, would crown his efforts, and they have been justified in the event.

SIXTEENTH BULLETIN.

AFFAIR AT GORDE.

"Head-quarters at Zerbst, Sept. 20, 1813.

"General Von Puttlitz, who is charged with the observation of Magdeburg, is posted at Mockern: he has sent several detachments of cavalry to the left bank of the Elbe.

"Two companies of the regiment Joseph Napoleon, 164 men strong, with their Chief of battalion, and two other officers, came over to our advanced posts at Biederitz, in the night between the sixteenth and seventeenth of September. They were permitted to retain their arms, and were taken to the head-quarters of his Royal Highness, from whence they will be sent to Spain by the way of Stralsund.

A part of the landsturm of Priegnitz, under the command of Major Von Puttlitz, has crossed the Elbe, and taken possession of the environs of Seehausen and Osterburg. He protects the inhabitants of the Old Marche of Brandenburg against the requisitions made by straggling parties, and by the Government of Westphalia.

"Lieutenant-General Count Wallmoden having received information that the Prince of Eckmuhl,*

*Marshal Davoust, Prince of Echmuhl, had directed General Pecheux to march from Hamburg with five or 6000 men, up the left bank of the Elbe, in order to reinforce Buonapare's army.

had detached the division of General Pecheux to the left bank of the Elbe, passed that river at Domitz, and in his march on the sixteenth, fell in with the enemy. General Pecheux had posted himself advantageously on the heights behind Gorde. The cannonade commenced; the attack made by the tiraillieurs of Lutzow and Reiche, and the well combined movements of the columns of infantry, forced the enemy to quit the heights, and form en masse on the plain. At the very moment when our columns had got as far as the heights, the cavalry and the Cossacks appeared on the enemy's left flank. Notwithstanding this he made an obstinate defence, supported a very brisk combat with the infantry, and repulsed several attacks of the cavalry. He was, however, soon brought to give way by the artillery, a part of which followed close after the infantry. The enemy being repeatedly attacked by the infantry, and on several sides, wished to hasten his retreat; and from this moment as both the cavalry and infantry fell on him, his disorder was complete. The enemy's corps would have been totally destroyed, had not the intervention of night, and the broken ground, saved a part of them. The field of battle was covered with the enemy's killed and wounded. We have taken eight cannon, twelve amunition waggons, and a great quantity of baggage. The General of Brigade Meilzinski, two of General Pecheux's adjutants, and upwards of 1000 men, are made prisoners. Even on the following day, prisoners were brought in from on all sides: so that the whole may amount to about 1800 men. General Pecheux had lost his horse, and escaped on foot. The remains of his division are retreating in disorder on Bleckede, pursued by the Cossacks under the command of General Tettenborn.

"Our loss consists of thirty officers and 400 privates killed and wounded. The Majors Von Lutzow, Firks, and Schasser, are wounded: Major Devaux is killed. All the troops under Lieutenant-General Count Wallmoden, have vied with each other in zeal and bravery on this day. The third regiment of the English hussars, the first of the Legion, and several other battalions of the English and Russian Legions,* have highly distinguished themselves. The tiraillieurs of Lutzow and Reiche, took the first gun. The English artillery and rocket corps deserve the highest encomiums.

"During this attack, the enemy advanced with some thousand men on Boitzenberg, but without any effect. General Wallmoden removed his head-quarters on the seventeenth to Danneberg, to be the nearer for observing that part of the Marshal Prince of Eckmuhl's corps d'armée, which had remained on the right bank of the Elbe.

"The grand united army of Bohemia must have gained fresh advantages, the official statements of which are expected. We know, by private intelligence from Leipzig, that in the evening of the sixteenth, eight thousand cavalry, two of which were dismounted, and several dismounted pieces of artillery, had

* I cannot avoid the satisfaction of here giving Lieutenant-General Wallmoden's observations on the gallant conduct of the British.

"I cannot sufficiently commend the bravery of the third regiment of hussars of the King's German legion, so conspicuous in their repeated charges, headed by their commander, Major Kuper; as likewise that of the first hussars of the Russian German legion on the enemy's squares. I lament that the glory which the first of these regiments has gained is acquired with so considerable a loss.

"I should be glad that the attention of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent should be drawn upon the conduct of Major Kuper, in command of this regiment, at the head of which his gallantry was so very conspicuous."

arrived there. The field hospital had been brought from Dresden to Leipzig, and a part of it even as far as Merseburg.

"The want of forage at Dresden is so great, that for some time past 200 horses have daily died there.

"General Thielmann has made a general, thirty-seven officers, and 1200 men, prisoners at Weissenfels. On the 14th, the Cossacks took at Wurtzen a convoy of waggons laden with corn, which was destined for the garrison of Torgau, and was escorted by a Saxon battalion. Colonel Von Menzdorf has intercepted couriers, whose dispatches expose the destitute and dispirited condition of the French army.

"General Blucher has his head-quarters at Bautzen: by his right wing he combines his operations with those of the united army of the North of Germany; and by his left wing he is connected with the Bohemian army. On having received intelligence that the enemy's sixth corps d'armée was marching on Grossenhayn, General Blucher caused the corps of General Sacken to move forward to Camenz. The vanguard of this corps disturbed the enemy the whole of the 15th and 16th: the sixth corps d'armée fell back on Dresden, and the first cavalry corps put itself in motion to follow the infantry. General Count Tauenzeen was preparing to pursue them.

"The Wirtemberg General Franquemont had complained to General Delort, chief of the general staff of the fourth corps, that his troops were always in the van when advancing, and in the rear when retreating. That general answered him, 'You must be con-

tent with its being so; it is our interest that you should all be killed, for otherwise you would soon be against us.'

"Denmark, which had yielded to the threats and the vaunting intelligence of Baron Alquier, on the third of September declared war against Sweden. It is strange, that in this declaration the hostilities which had previously been committed against Sweden, both by land and sea, are passed over in silence. We must hope that the Danish government, being informed of the occurrences in the progress of the war, will at length perceive the danger it runs; and, compelled by the total derangement of its finances, will take its resolution, and accept the proposals which will be made to it. In the contrary case, and if that court will not join the common cause until it has already triumphed, it will then be no merit, nor be of any utility in obtaining for it such moderate conditions. The whole North sees with concern the delusion of the Danish government: the minister Alquier, who is kept there, must be himself astonished at the power and effect of his commands. At the moment when all the Princes of the Rhenish confederacy are preparing to throw off the yoke, it is a hard matter to account for the submissiveness of the court of Copenhagen."

SEVENTEENTH BULLETIN.

"Head-quarters, Zerbst, Sept. 22, 1813.

"General Howaisky, with his Cossacks, and General Dobschuss, with four squadrons, which made a part of General Tauenzeen's advanced-guard, on the

nineteenth instant, between Borack and Schwediss, met with the first, eighth, and tenth French regiments of horse chasseurs, and attacked them so successfully, that scarcely thirty men escaped of these three regiments. Colonel Talleyrand, two Lieutenant-Colonels, sixteen other officers, and 500 men, were made prisoners, and the rest were either killed or wounded.

A remarkable circumstance, and which can only be attributed to the want of union which prevails in the enemy's troops, was that our whole loss consisted in a single wounded Cossack. General Dobschuss has occupied Cosdorff and Muhlberg. General Wobeser observes Torgau. Two great boats, which came down the Elbe, laden with ammunition and clothing for the garrison of the latter fortress, have been taken. Captain Von Zeunert, who had been sent with thirty men of the Landwehr, on horseback, to the left bank of the Elbe, has destroyed the entrenchments thrown up near Rogatz. The enemy sent from Wolmirstadt 100 men to prevent this; but Captain Zeunert fell upon them, at the head of his thirty men, and after an obstinate resistance, cut them down. Some prisoners were made, who had been all wounded. Captain Zeunert himself was wounded severely in this action.

"Colonel Bjornestierna having been detached with Swedish troops to the left bank of the Elbe, marched on the twentieth to Kemberg, in the hope of surprising there a troop of Poles: but it had already left that place, and taken the road to Leipzig. The Colonel went last to reconnoitre the bridge-head, near Wittenberg, and took under the very cannon of that work an advanced corps, and a courier with several letters upon him. Among these are several from the Govern-

our-General Lapoype, addressed to Marshal Ney, Duke of Elchingen; to the Duke of Reggio, to Generals Regnier, Narbonne, and Margaron. The contents of these letters shew that not only the soldiers, but even the officers and sergeants of the weak garrison of Wittenberg, are daily deserting.

"General Count Wallmoden reports, under the date of the nineteenth, that General Tettenborn has pursued the flying enemy to Bleckede, Brackede, Lunenburg, Winsen, and even to Harburg; we have every where picked up soldiers that had been left behind. General Pecheux has made his escape with five or 600 men, which he collected at Lunenburg, where he arrived early in the morning on the day after the battle, and proceeded on his march to Winsen and Hopte, without stopping. The enemy's General Osten had gone before with a detachment from Harburg to Winsen, but left that place when our detached party approached it. A number of wounded were still laying dispersed on the roads. General Tettenborn collected them, and sent in besides, some ammunition waggons that had been left behind. The number of prisoners had increased to 1300 during the pursuit; a pair of colours belonging to the third regiment of the line, was taken. On the eighteenth, the enemy had made a strong reconnoisance from Mollen towards Zarrentien, and, at last, threw himself back on Boitzenburg with his right wing. Count Wallmoden has received orders to attack the Prince of Eckmuhl, with his joint force. He is to be supported by 15,000 men of the Mecklenberg Landsturm, under the command of the Hereditary Prince.

"The levies-en-masse are organizing every where

on the right bank of the Elbe. This example will soon be followed likewise on the left bank of the Elbe; and *a national war will shortly be seen extending from the Elbe to the Rhine, similar to that with which the liberation of Spain commenced.** The chiefs of the districts wait only for the signal for collecting their forces; and this moment is now not far distant.

"General Blucher has pushed forward a strong detachment on Konigsbruck. Count Von Tauenzeen has taken possession of Liebenwerda and Elsterwerda, and the line behind the Elster. The enemy had broke up his camp at Stolzenhagen, near Elsterwerda, in the night between the nineteenth and twentieth: it is estimated at 4000 men. According to the latest accounts, the King of Naples is still at Grossenhayn.

"The Emperour Napoleon in person, on the twelfth, attacked the post of Hollendorf, in the narrow passes of Bohemia, but was repulsed by the Austrian corps of Generals Colloredo and Meerveld, with the loss of seven cannon, one standard, 4000 prisoners, and the General of Brigade Kreutzer, who was taken.†

"The united army of the North of Germany has taken more than 28,000 prisoners since the end of the truce. From the seventeenth of August till the eighteenth of September, there have passed through Ber-

* These spirited and admirable compsitions of the Prince Royal of Sweden had the most desired effect: they awakened the understandings of thousands to the true state of affairs: and whilst they augmented his forces they produced an irresistible ardour in his followers, from which he knew well how to profit.

† In this attack Buonaparte was at first successful; he obtained possession of the important pass of Hollendorff, and of part of the plain beyond, but Prince Schwartzenberg made a general attack on all the posts he occupied, repelled him, and on the seventeenth the two armies occupied the same positions they held before the advance of Napoleon.

lin as prisoners of war, 18,257 common soldiers, and 299 officers: and upwards of 2000 more were on the road to that city: from two to 3000 have remained behind sick in the hospitals of Juterbock, Treuenbrietzen, Belzig, and Brandenburg; and the corps d'armée under Count Wallmoden, which sends its prisoners to Stralsund, has made more than 4000 of them. If we add to this number that of the killed, wounded, and missing, we may reckon the total loss of the army opposed to that of the North of Germany, at not less than 45,000 men, since the seventeenth of August.

"The prisoners taken by the army under General Blucher, and the grand army of Bohemia, amount to 40,000. We may, therefore, without exaggeration, estimate the enemy's loss, since the recommencement of hostilities at more than 100,000 men, and 250 pieces of cannon.

"If, as every thing gives us room to hope, Bavaria and Wurtemberg should join the cause of German liberty, the Emperour Napoleon will not have more than 150,000 men to oppose the allies.

The king of Denmark has sent the Prussian minister back, and stated as the cause of it, that as Prussia is engaged in war with the Emperour Napoleon, the presence of that minister could no longer be allowed at Copenhagen. This Court endeavours to justify itself to the allies on account of its declaration of war against Sweden, and pretends to have taken that step, merely to evade the incessant demands of Baron Alquier, who demanded 10,000 men more to be sent to Holstein. In this however, there appears a vast difference between the intent and the deed.

"The enemy has not any more fast position on the left bank of the Elbe from Wittenberg to Schernbeck. His advanced posts are still between the last mentioned place and Magdeburg. General Tchernicheff is at Bernburg, Major Von Rosenstern at Little Rosenburg, and Major Czeezensky at Zoerbig. Detached parties have penetrated as far as Halle, where they have put themselves in connexion with the corps under General Thielmann, and from thence as far as near to Delitsch and Billerfield, and on the left wing as far as Egeln and Wantzleben. They have been able to make only a small number of prisoners, as they never could find the enemy in any considerable force. Major Von Lowenstern has taken a transport of 1300 measures of oats and other provisions, which were intended for Madgeburg.

"The van-guard of the Russian army, commanded by Count Von Woronzoff, is at Acken (on the left bank of the Elbe.) The Swedish van guard, under the command of General Schulzenheim, is at Dessau.

"The Prince Royal has entrusted the siege of Wittenberg to General Bulow."

EIGHTEENTH BULLETIN.

"*Head-quarters, Zerbst, Sept.* 26, 1813.

"On the twenty-first, at break of day, two Saxon officers appeared at the Swedish advanced posts, before Worlitz, and informed them that their battallion would come over to our side. Colonel Bjornestierna, accom-

panied by some hussars, went to the front of the battalion to give it a reception. Its commander, Major Von Bunau, declared in the name of his whole troop, that it requested to fight under the standard of his Royal Highness, for the liberty of Germany. This battalion is the first of the King's regiment; its force amounts to eight officers, and 360 men. It entered Worlitz with fixed bayonets and drums beating, and will bear the name of the first battalion of the King of Saxony's Legion. In three days at farthest it will be completed to 800 men. The Cossack officer, Obrees, who was detached with thirty men on the twenty-third, near Goldwitz took one captain, two officers, and forty Saxon dragoons prisoners, after a slight engagement.

"Six Swedish gun-boats, under the command of Captain Kruger, have cannonaded the town of Stettin, the suburb of Dauern, and the batteries which connect both those places, with good effect. On the twenty-fourth of August, the guns at Dauern were dismounted. Lieutenant-Colonel Fexmain, his Adjutant, a Serjeant-major, and several soldiers were killed, and a great number wounded on the enemy's side. On the thirtieth August, the gate of Dauern was broke down by cannon shot, and on the first of September the fire was directed against the town itself. The boats had a few men killed or wounded in these affairs.

"To draw off the attention of the garrison of Wittenberg from the side where the trenches were opened, and therefore to lessen our loss, General Bulow received orders to bombard the place from the opposite side. At two o'clock in the afternoon of the twenty-fourth, he caused the suburbs to be attacked. The ju-

dicious disposition made by General Hirchfeldt, caused the attack to be attended with complete success. The suburbs were taken, and the enemy driven back on all points; we had only a few men wounded, not a single one killed. The attack does great honour to General Hirchfeldt. The trenches were opened on the side of Luthersbrunn, in the night between the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth. The bombardment commenced on the same night, and several places were set on fire. The fire continued from ten o'clock in the evening till five in the morning, the fire was perceptible from the steeples of Leipzig and Dresden. At the same time a second parallel was opened on the side of the castle. Count Woronzoff's cavalry keeps Halle; Querfurth, Eisleben, Bernburg, and Halberstadt are garrisoned. A detachment has been at Quedlenburg. A part of this cavalry has formed a junction with the great Bohemian harbour, and is marched into the rear of General Lefebvre, who was skirmishing with General Thielmann. Every thing is in the greatest confusion at Leipzig. This city can no longer raise the contributions of money, provisions, and horses, which are demanded from it on all sides.

"The people are reduced to such a degree of misery, that the authorities, who carry the commands, have every thing to fear. The French soldiers are tired and weary of a war without an object, which they call the *coffee and sugar war*.

"General Tchernicheff is gone with 3000 horse on a private expedition.

"Major Hellwig of General Bulow's corps, has, on

the left bank of the Elbe, opened a communication with the van guard of General Schulzenheim, at Dessau.

"The Field Marshal Count Stedingk causes considerable works to be thrown up, above Roslau, and between the Elbe and Mulde. General Baron Winzingerode is forming the town of Aiken into a fortress.

"The military government between the Oder and the Vistula has placed the whole of the Landsturm on the right bank of the Oder, under the orders of the General commanding the sieges of Stettin and Kustrin. This Landsturm will form a mass of about 55,000 men, in a line of about seven German miles.

"The Landsturm on the left bank of the Oder will, in the same extent, produce an equal number of men. This force is certainly not necessary, in conjunction with the corps of the line, to hasten the surrender of those places. Consequently, in a line of fourteen German miles, there is already organized a mass of one hundred thousand burghers, who are all ready to fight for the protection of their homes.

"When Magdeburg shall be enclosed, the Landsturm, of that province will be called out; at every step that the allied army moves forward it will find masses to assist it.

"The letters received from Dresden state, that the Prince of Neufchatel is very much displeased, and that he has made the most urgent remonstrance to prevail on the Emperour Napoleon to make peace. Had his councils been followed, humanity would have had less to bemoan."

NINETEENTH BULLETIN.

"*Head-quarters, Zerbst, Sept.* 30, 1813.

"On the twenty-seventh September, the enemy commenced making his retreat from Grossenhayn, to cross the Elbe at Meissen; and it is asserted that he is even preparing to evacuate Dresden.

"Deserters assure us, that the military magazines of that city are already burnt, and that the inhabitants find themselves exposed to the most dreadful misery.

"General Count Tauenzeen, without the least delay, detached his light cavalry in pursuit of the enemy: strong detachments are intended for the left bank of the Elbe. That general's infantry has happily joined Blucher's corps d'armée: the head-quarters of the latter were removed to Esterwerda on the twenty-eighth. General Benningsen has been at Zettau since the twenty-fifth. By the united activity of the three corps, it is hoped the enemy will soon be forced back into the country between the Elbe and the Saale.

"Wittenberg continues to be strongly bombarded. In the night between the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth the town was on fire in several places; a tower of the castle was on fire and fell in. Exclusive of the bombs, rockets were likewise used under the very able direction of the English Captain Bogue.

"The garrison answered our attacks with their artillery, but entirely without effect: they may perhaps attempt a sally, but General Bulow is before that for-

tress with 30,000 men, and if it should be necessary, can be strengthened with upwards of 40,000 men.

"The distress in Magdeburg has reached its utmost height. Upwards of one hundred families who were totally without sustenance, have left the city: a great part of the garrison, which is composed of all nations, is sickly. The animosity of the Saxons and Westphalians against the French military has broken out into violent disturbances, they have fired on each other with small arms, and the French have even been obliged in their defence to turn the cannon on the mutineers. The Emperour Napoleon has given his general orders to take Dessau, let it cost what it will. Information of this was received in sufficient time to give Major-General Schulzenheim timely notice to evacuate the place, and retire by degrees upon the works at the tête du pont. This was performed on the twenty-seventh, between twelve at noon and two P. M. The enemy did not undertake any thing against General Von Schulzenheim. Colonel Bjornestierna, who was at Worlitz, received orders to fall back on the right bank of the Elbe. The day before yesterday, the party covering the workmen at the tête du pont reconnoitred nearly as far as Dessau. Those posts of the enemy who had ventured out of the city were drove into the streets, and the reconnoitring party returned behind the entrenchments. In this skirmish we had twenty men killed and wounded.

"We soon after received information that the enemy at Dessau had received reinforcements, and was advancing against the tête du pont. Field Marshal Count Stedingk sent Colonel Bjornestierna against him with 1000 infantry, some cavalry, and two pieces

of artillery. The enemy hastily retired into the town, and shut the gates; a few young officers and soldiers, led away by too much bravery, threw themselves, in despite of the enemy's shower of bullets from the houses and walls, on a gate, and endeavoured to cut it open with axes, but nails and iron bands rendered this impossible. Colonel Bjornestierna ordered his troops to fall back to the tête du pont: when he had reached the distance of 100 yards, the enemy opened the gate, and fired on him with three pieces of artillery. The colonel halted, returned the fire with his artillery, and marched on the enemy, who returned back into the town, and fastened the gates after them. Our loss consisted in two officers killed, and some wounded, and three or four privates killed and about forty wounded. Colonel Bjornestierna had three horses killed or wounded under him. In the evening the enemy again left the town, and took his direction towards the bridge across the Mulde, which was entrusted to a battalion under the command of Colonel Adlercreutz. This brave officer crossed the bridge, attacked the enemy, and drove him briskly back into the town, the gates of which were then closed. At nine o'clock yesterday morning, the enemy shewed himself with a corps of seven or 8000 men, in the vicinity of Oranienbaum, between the Mulde and the Elbe. As we had drawn our posts in, the enemy shewed symptoms of marching against the entrenchments, and forcing them.

Sketch of Military Events form the 1st of September to the 1st of October 1813.

Printed copies of the following statement were thrown into the towns in possession of the French garrisons, by means of the Baschkir arrows, employed in the army of the Prince Royal:

"Berlin, October 9, 1813.

"In the month of August the French armies attempted to invade at once Mecklenburg, Swedish Pomerania, the Middle-Mark, Silesia, and Bohemia. In the month of September, after vain efforts, repelled on all sides, they were driven across the Elbe; near Hamburg, wedged into a corner of Lusace, driven up to the right bank of the Elbe,

"Lieutenant-General Baron Sandals put himself at the head of three battalions, went out of our lines, and straight upon the enemy: he overthrew him, and drove him briskly upwards of a quarter of a German mile back. As this general had received orders to return back to the tête du pont, he executed them with such precision as could not have been excelled on the place of exercise.

"The fire of musketry against the tiraillieurs continued some hours, and the enemy undertook nothing farther. According to the report of the country peo-

expelled from Bohemia with considerable loss of men and cannon, and not only disturbed in their lines of communication between Dresden, Altenburg, Leipzig and Erfurt, but those lines more than once broken and intercepted.

"Toward the end of the month the combined armies had passed the Elbe at all points. The victory of Gorde (sixteenth of September) opened to the corps of General Wallmoden the Old Mark, Luneburg, and the route of Hanover and Bohemia; the victory of Dennevitz (the sixth of September), made the Prince Royal master of the Duchies of Anholt, and other provinces formerly Prussian, Hessian, and of Brunswick; opened to him the gates of Dessau, Halberstadt, Halle, Merseburg, Brunswick, Cassel; and in fine, the victory of General Blucher, at Bischofswerda, (twenty-second of September,) secured to him the passage of the Elbe at Elster, his march upon Leipzig, by turning Wittenberg, and his communication with the army of the north of Germany.

"The Russian and Prussian armies, immoveable in the position which they had chosen in Bohemia, from Toplitz to the Elbe, awaited the enemy in the fatal valley of Culm, received him with courage, drove him back with intrepidity as often as he dared to descend from the mountains, wasted him with famine, demoralized him, and incessantly drove him back upon Dresden; which, from being a point whence he attacked, now became to him a point of retreat. In the mean while the Austrian army extended itself, on one side, as far as Freyberg, Chemitz, and Altenburg; and on the other, towards Thuringia, and Bavaria pushed forward strong detachments, and covered powerful diversions operated by partizans as brave as fortunate,—Colomb at Frankfort, Thielmann at Naumburg, Platoff at Altenburg, and Mensdorf at the gates of Leipzig.

"Where was Buonaparte during the whole of September? At Dresden, and its vicinity; again at Dresden and its vicinity; perpetually at Dresden and its vicinity. He sent his sick and wounded to Leipzig and Erfurt; burned (by accident, as was pretended, but designedly as we know) his magazines at Dresden; kept the king of Saxony and his family at Dresden, to give himself the semblance of security, and make of Dresden his Paris, his Germany, his Europe. It was from Dresden that those bags of letters were dispatched, which being intercepted and published, have communicated just ideas of the true situation of the French army and of the disposition of the troops.

ple the enemy has lost upwards of 600 men. We had one officer killed, ten wounded, and about 300 privates killed and wounded.

"Field Marshal Count Von Stedingk would have passed the night in the tête du pont; and it required all the persuasion of his Royal Highness the Prince Royal to prevail on him to abstain from that resolution.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Merevitz, who had been detached as a partisan to support the operations of Gen-

Besides, from the twenty-third of September, the retreat of that army was begun; on the twenty-eighth the Emperour, the King of Saxony, and the Royal Family, escorted by the guards, quitted Dresden, taking the only route which remained to them—that of Leipzig.

"The treaty of alliance concluded at Toplitz, between Austria, Russia, and Prussia—the negotiations opened with Bavaria—the unequivocal movements of the grand combined army towards the Maire—the siege of Wittenberg resumed with vigour, in which were used the formidable Congreve rockets—the junction of the army of Blucher with the Prince Royal's, have proved to Napoleon the necessity of retreat more effectually than his minister and generals had hitherto been able to do.

"The feeble attempt near Dessau necessarily failed.—The Prince Royal and General Blucher passed the Elbe at the same time, in the early part of October, and are in line before Leipzig, ready to give battle and attack the enemy.

"Russia, Austria, and Prussia, have mutually guaranteed their States on the footing of 1805; furnishing each other 60,000 auxiliary troops, and setting out with the unchangeable principle of not permitting a single French bayonet to remain in Germany.

"Already the sceptre of the King of Westphalia is broken in pieces; the city of Cassel, through the instrumentality of General Tchernicheff, has placed its keys in the hands of the Prince Royal. The old order of things succeeds to the most oppressive anarchy.

"At London, the news of the successes in Germany, and of those in Spain, were received almost at the same time. From that capital we learn, that on the thirtieth of August, St. Sebastians was taken by assault; Soult beaten on the thirty-first: that on the ninth of September the citadel capitulated; and that Suchet had razed and abandoned Tarragona.

"The trenches are opened before Dantzig, Stetten, and Glougau. Their garrisons are destitute of necessaries; they have many sick. Even Magdeburg is ill provisioned. Napoleon is even placing the fortresses on the Rhine in a state of defence."

eral Tettenborn, has forced himself into Brunswick, surprised the troops there, and made one colonel and 400 officers and soldiers prisoners.

"The Russian Captain Barotzi was attacked at Halle, by troops superiour in numbers to his own, but that brave officer manœuvred so well, that he drove the enemy back, and made some prisoners.

"A detachment that was sent against Mersburg, found that town already evacuated by the enemy.—General Count Woronzoff, having learnt that the enemy had turned himself towards Cothen, caused the Captains Orescott and Lowenstein to march against him with a detachment of Cossacks. They threw themselves on three squadrons of Polish Uhlans, overthrew them, and took the commanding officer and forty men prisoners.

"The Emperour Napoleon's communication with France is cut off to that degree, that his messengers are obliged to be escorted by whole divisions. It was hitherto only the light troops that carried on this kind of warfare; but latterly the inhabitants of several districts have begun to follow the example of the Spaniards and Russians, in making common cause with the military of the Allies.

"The desertion from the enemy's army is very great—thirty or forty men daily come over to us.

"We have intercepted several dispatches from Count Von Durnoth, the Danish Minister at the Court of Saxony, to M. Von Rosencrantz. As these were intended to give the Danish Court the needful

information concerning the state of affairs at Dresden, care will be taken that they shall arrive at their destination."

TWENTIETH BULLETIN.

Head-quarters at Dessau, Oct. 4, 1813.

"The Prince Royal has this day transferred his head-quarters to this place.

"The attempt made by the enemy on the twenty-ninth of September to carry the works, scarcely traced out, of the bridge of Roslau, was more fatal to him than had been supposed. The officers and soldiers made prisoners, the deserters and inhabitants of the country, coincide in estimating their loss at 1500 men, at the lowest calculation. From seven to 800 men were buried here. General Sandels occasioned him this loss with only three battalions.

"General Blucher, by one of those marches,* of which history scarcely furnishes an example, and which his enthusiasm for the liberty of his country could alone suggest, advanced, with the greater part

* The just and honourable meed of praise bestowed by the Prince Royal on this grand movement of Marshal Blucher, is highly creditable to the heart and understanding of his Royal Highness. The attention of Europe was riveted at this moment to the movements of these two distinguished chiefs, and the Prince Royal, divested of all sentiments of rivalship, and only anxious to testify his earnestness, in the cause, bestows on the veteran marshal those encomiums that are due to him. At a period when such a movement was least expected by the enemy, Marshal Blucher broke up from Bautzen, and although obliged to carry along with him pontoons, he marched with such rapidity, as to reach in three days Elster, situated near the confluence of the river of that name with the Elbe; and passing the latter river, defeated the corps commanded by General Bertrand.—J. P.

of his army, from the environs of Bautzen to Elster; and though he had to carry with him a bridge equipage, he effected the passage in as short a time as a simple traveller could have done. After passing the Elbe, he attacked the fourth corps of the enemy's army, commanded by General Bertrand, on the third of October, near Wartenberg, put it to rout, killed a number, drove it from all its entrenchments, and took sixteen guns, seventy harnessed caissons, and 1000 prisoners.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Lowenstern, with a small detachment of Cossacks, fought against upwards of 2000 of the enemy in the streets of Bernburg. After a conflict of two hours, and the enemy having been reinforced with artillery, the town was abandoned, but retaken next day. The skill and courage displayed by the Cossacks on this occasion, as well as on all preceding ones, does them the greatest honour. These undaunted troops are not only the eyes of the army, but they likewise fight in the ranks, break squadrons, attack squares of infantry, swim over rivers, and put themselves into the enemy's rear, where they spread dread and disorder.

The Russian army this day crossed the Elbe at Acken. General Winzingerode has caused his vanguard, under the command of Count Woronzoff, to advance to Cothen.

"The Town of Acken will in a short time be so well fortified, that it will require a regular siege to take it. It is a point on the left bank which the enemy has neglected to occupy, and from which the allied army will now derive essential benefit.

"The Swedish army having thrown a bridge of boats over the Elbe, at Roslau, passed the river this morning at day-break, and again moved upon Dessau—Its advanced posts extended to Raguhn and Jonitz, and its junction with General Blucher's army is accomplished.* Marshal Ney's army left Dessau and Jonitz at five o'clock this morning: its rear-guard was vigorously pursued, and some prisoners have been taken.

"It will still require five or six days before the works at Roslau can be completed. They are traced out upon a fine plan, which does great honour to General Sparre.

"The third Prussian corps d'armée, under the command of General Bulow, is to cross the Elbe to-morrow, as will likewise General Count Tauenzeen, with his corps. General Thumen will remain before Wittenberg. This General is to continue the siege with the same vigour which he has before shewn at Spandau. Should Wittenberg fall into the hands of the allies, they will be masters of the Elbe, as this fortress will at once cover Berlin, and at the same time serve as a depot for the allied armies.

"A traveller arrived here from Cassel states, that General Tchernicheff, arrived there on the twenty-eighth, took the citadel, and liberated the state prisoners. The confirmation of this intelligence is expected.

"On the day before yesterday, his Royal Highness

*Together, they formed an army of 125,000 men.

the Prince Royal reviewed the Saxon battalion which came over to the allies. These troops have a very fine appearance: they have expressed their resolution of serving the cause of Germany, and their native country."*

TWENTY-FIRST BULLETIN.

"Head-quarters, Dessau, October 6, 1813.

"The enemy retires in the direction of Leipzig.† The head-quarter of Marshal Ney were, on the night of the fourth and fifth at Bitterfeld. Major Czeczensky, in pursuing the enemy on the right bank of the Mulda, was engaged during the whole of the day of the fourth, with the cavalry of the rear guard; he was surrounded several times, and he killed and took a great number of the enemy. Captain Obreskoff, who was sent with eighty Cossacks to the right bank of the Mulda, in order to form a communication with the advanced guard of General Blucher, in pursuing the enemy between Oranienbaum and Golp, made thirty-eight prisoners. General O'Rourke has marched to Zerbig, and Lieutenant-Colonel Melnikoff to Landsberg. He and Lieutenant-Colonel Chrapowitzky had yesterday a brilliant affair between Landsberg and Delitsch. The French General Fournier had marched out of Leipzig with a division of Cavalry and four

*This bulletin concludes with announcing the surrender of the town and citadel of St. Sebastian, and the defeat of Soult on the thirty-first of August, and the first of September.

†Buonaparte quitted Dresden on the seventh of October, and after moving in a contrary direction to Leipzig, viz. upon Wittenberg and the bridges by which the Prince Royal and Marshal Blucher's corps had crossed, suddenly altered his route, and moved to Leipzig. His first movement had, however, the effect of compelling General Tauenzeen to fall back precipitately on Berlin, and obliging the Prince Royal and Marshal Blucher to repass the Saale and the Elster.—J. P.

pieces of cannon, in order to oppose them. The enemy, notwithstanding his superiority of force, was overthrown, and pursued to the gates of Delitsch, with a considerable loss in killed and wounded, besides one hundred and fifty prisoners, one of whom was an officer. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowenstern continued to harrass, in front of Bernbourg, the enemy's cavalry, which, though superiour in numbers, made demonstrations of retreating upon Magdeburg.

"Major Baron D'Essen, aid-de-camp to the Prince Royal, and the Russian Captain Krasnakutzki, have proceeded with a regiment of Cossacks to Delitsch. Colonel Staël has pursued the enemy with a great deal of vigour. He distinguished himself by his bravery and skill in the affair before Dessau, on the 26th of September.

"The expedition* of General Tchernicheff has been attended with brilliant success. Never were boldness, talents, and valour, more eminently displayed than on this occasion. The general, after three glorious combats, entered Cassel on the 30th of September, by capitulation. He marched on the 24th to Eisleben, the 25th to Rosla, and avoiding a Westphalian corps under the orders of General Bastineller, posted at Heilligenstadt, he made a lateral movement, passed through Sondershausen, and arrived on the 26th in the evening at Muhlhausen. Thence he marched in one day to Cassel. The King received notice of his arrival only two hours before. Investing the city on every side, he ordered the Cossacks and the hussars of Izum to attack the enemy's battalions, stationed at Betten-

* This successful expedition to the capital of the new kingdom of Westphalia considerably harassed the enemy, and cut off his supplies.

hausen, with six pieces of cannon. By a brilliant charge, the guns were taken, the enemy dispersed, and more than 400 prisoners made. Colonel Bedriaga was killed on this occasion. This officer, who possessed uncommon valour, is regretted by all the Russian army. The fugitives were pursued into the city; but as the streets were barricadoed the Russians at length fell back.

"The King collected two battalions of guards and a thousand horse, and fled by the road leading to Frankfort. Colonel Benkendorff charged four squadrons of light horse, forming part of the escort, not one of whom escaped; he took 250 men and ten officers. General Tchernicheff was then apprised that General Bastineller was advancing against Cassel. He marched during the night of the 28th upon Melzulgen, in order to meet him with his entire force. The hostile corps dispersed, no more than twenty cuirrassiers and two guns were taken. The troops that followed the King dispersed in like manner; more than 300 of them joined General Tchernicheff, and marched with him on the 30th against Cassel. He made use of the artillery captured from the enemy, and cannonaded the town. The Leipzig gate, with the cannon planted there, was carried by Colonel Benkendorff. At that moment General Tchernicheff offered terms of capitulation to the general of division Alix. He obtained a free passage for the French and Westphalian troops, with their arms and military baggage. These troops were to be escorted by Cossacks, two miles from Cassel. The city was occupied on the evening of 30th by the Russians: the joy of the inhabitants was beyond all description. The greater part of the Westphalian troops are ranging themselves under the banners of

the allies; more than 1500 were already enrolled at the departure of the courier; and the confusion given to the kingdom of Westphalia is of the most violent description.

"It is at this moment that the North of Germany ought to justify the hopes which Europe entertains of its patriotism, and of the courage of its inhabitants.

"The advanced guards of the combined army of the North of Germany, and of the army of Silesia, are only half a league distant from one another.

"The grand army of Bohemia has debouched into Saxony. The Hetman Platoff had, on the twenty-ninth of September, at Altenburg, an affair with General Lefebvre Desnouettes, who commanded 8000 men, amongst whom are five brigades of the cavalry of the guard. This corps was completely beaten, and lost more than 1000 prisoners, five guns, and three standards, and was pursued to Zeitz. The corps of General Thielmann and of Colonel Mentzdorff had joined in the pursuit.

"The Prince Royal saw defile yesterday through this city a part of the third corps of the Prussian army, under the orders of General Bulow; and to-day the whole of the fourth corps, commanded by General Count Tauenzeen. His Royal Highness has beheld again with pleasure, these brave troops, and has been highly satisfied with the state of their equipment, and with their noble military apppearance."

The head-quarters of the Prince Royal of Sweden's army were at Rothenburg, on the eleventh October, and his positions then extended from Witten to Halle, upon the Saale and Mulda. The movements were now planned for surrounding Leipzig, and they were executed in a bold and scientific manner.

Buonaparte was concentrating his army at Leipzig, and at Wartzen and Eutenberg; the King of Saxony following with his family.

On the night of the eighth, the Emperour of Russia left Commotau, followed by the reserve of his army, and advanced by rapid and successive marches to Altenberg, where the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian reserves were assembled on the eleventh and twelfth, and where the Emperour Alexander and Prince Schwartzenberg's head-quarters were established. The remainder of the grand army had proceeded down the Elster by Gheist and Pegau to Lutzen, on its left, and to Borna and Espenheim on its right. Marshal Blucher having moved to Halle, a direct communication was opened through Merseberg with that officer and the Prince Royal of Sweden, who accordingly advanced further into Saxony, and forming a position with the grand allied armies of Silesia and Bohemia, the whole encompassed Liepzig.

The Prince Royal had conceived that a movement of the whole allied force to the left bank of the Saale would force Buonaparte either to a general battle, or would be the most effectual mode to embarrass and harass his retreat. The extent of success which at-

tended the bold conceptions of his Royal Highness, and the zealous co-operation of Marshal Blucher and Prince Schwartzenberg, is to be seen in the following Bulletins. In pursuing the plan of the Prince Royal, the Allies were enabled completely to encircle Buonaparte's army, at a time when it was in the greatest distress from the exhausted state of the magazines, and although that ambitious character might succeed in breaking through this circle, yet the Allies had every reason to expect, and their expectations were justified in the event, that with it would follow the destruction of a principal part of his army.

TWENTY-SECOND BULLETIN.

"*Head-quarters at Leipzig, Oct. 20, 1813.*

"The great army of Bohemia, the united armies of North Germany, of Silesia, and that under the command of General Benningsen, are all marched towards Leipzig, where Napoleon had concentrated his whole force. After the memorable battles of the sixteenth and eighteenth of October, the city of Leipzig was taken by storm on the nineteenth, at one o'clock in the afternoon. The Emperours of Austria and Russia, the King of Prussia, and the Prince Royal, met together in this city. A more particular account of this remarkable warlike occurrence will be given without delay.*

* *Vide* following Bulletin.

"The Emperour Napoleon is in full retreat with the remains of his army, which, according to all accounts, does not exceed the number of 75 or 80,000 men. He is briskly pursued. The belief in his invincibility is destroyed. The German and Polish troops forsake his standards in great numbers. THE LIBERTY OF GERMANY AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF EUROPE WERE GAINED AT LEIPZIG. The loss of the French army exceeds 60,000 men, fifteen captive generals, among whom are the chiefs of entire corps d'armée, Regnier and Lauriston—upwards of 15,000 prisoners, 250 pieces of artillery, 900 ammunition waggons, and a number of eagles and standards, are the result of this glorious day. The enemy has left 23,000 sick and wounded behind him at this place."

ON the first day's engagement, the French were the assailants. General Blucher was attacked by Marshal Ney with the utmost desperation to the northward of Leipzig, whilst Buonaparte, in person, at the same moment, attacked the Allies under Prince Schwartzenberg, to the southward. The efforts of the Allies were crowned with success. Ney was totally defeated by Blucher.

Murat had been sent forward from Leipzig with the *elite* of the French cavalry to clear the way for Buonaparte and his personal staff—to a certain extent he succeeded—and, but for the assistance and coming up of General Benningsen and his reserve, Buonaparte would have carried off the greatest part of his army

on that day. The seventeenth was occupied in military preparations on both sides, and the Allied armies having completed their movements, upon the eighteenth, boldly moved forward and became the assailants. The most complete success attended the Allied arms—they carried all before them, and Buonaparte was driven into Leipzig; from whence he fled on the following morning, the Prince Royal having assaulted the place. The Emperour of Russia, the King of Prussia, and the Prince Royal of Sweden, each heading their respective troops, entered the town at different points, and met in the great square, amidst the acclamations and rejoicings of the people.

TWENTY-THIRD BULLETIN.

"Head-quarters, Leipzig, Oct. 21, 1813.

"The movements and marches of the combined army, which have preceded the grand results just ob-

PRUSSIAN MILITARY REPORT.

"Leipzig, October 20, 1813.

"Yesterday, at eight o'clock, the Prince Royal, with his whole army advanced against Leipzig, where the enemy received us with a very warm reception of cannon balls and grenades from a battery which he had preserved for the purpose of preventing a too vigorous pursuit. This was, however, soon silenced. About an hour before the city was totally evacuated, the Prince Royal was informed by the Emperour of Russia, that the King of Saxony, who was in Leipzig, had, by a flag of truce, surrendered at discretion, and had only requested that the inhabitants and their property might be spared; and that his majesty the Emperour of Russia had returned for answer, 'That the King of Saxony might make himself easy concerning the city of Leipzig and its inhabitants, but that in his own person his Imperial Majesty could only see an hostile-minded prince.'"

"His Royal Highness the Prince Royal was at the same time informed, that the Emperour Napoleon had, in the true style of a protector of the Rhenish confederacy,

tained, have necessarily suspended the publication of the operations, in order to present at once the plans and their consequences.

"The Emperour Napoleon quitted Dresden the fifth of October, and marched in two columns upon Meissen, one taking the left, and the other the right bank of the Elbe. Arrived at Wurtzen, he halted his troops. This movement, which was four days too late, has been fatal to the French army, and has destroyed in two battles the spell of Napoleon's invincibility. The armies of Silesia and of the North of Germany were on the left bank of the Elbe. They possessed, in fact, neither a post, nor a strong place on either bank; but strong in their union and the bravery of their soldiers, they had formed the resolution of not repassing the river without giving or receiving battle.

"The Prince Royal and General Blucher, wishing to get promptly out of this precarious situation, united with Prince William of Prussia, the seventh of Octo-

sent word to the unfortunate Augustus, 'that he must make the best terms he could with the allies, for he could give him no assistance.'"

[Here follows an account of the Emperours of Austria and Russia, the King of Prussia, and the Prince Royal of Sweden, entering by the different gates, meeting in the market-place, and exchanging mutual salutations.]

"Twenty-six French generals are prisoners. At the head of them are Generals Regnier and Lauriston; General Latour Maubourg had one of his feet taken off here, and yet Napoleon forced him to leave the place, in consequence whereof, he died not far from hence. Three other French generals have this day had limbs amputated. The Prince Royal's army has taken and found 130 cannon. The loss of the combined army is considerable, but certainly cannot be put in competition with the total destruction of Napoleon's whole force. The Swedish army has sustained the least loss. The number of baggage and ammunition waggons taken, are calculated at 1500. We have at Leipzig 23,000 French soldiers, sick and wounded, besides which 30,000 have been taken prisoners. A great number of gun carriages have been found, besides those already mentioned, and 30,000 muskets, packed in chests, have fallen into our hands."

ber, at Muhlbeck on the Mulda. They determined to march upon Leipzig. The Emperour Napoleon, wishing to outstrip them, formed the design of attacking the army of Silesia. He marched against it with the intention of penetrating its line, and preventing it from regaining the bridge it had constructed at Wartenberg. This movement was foreseen; and the army of Silesia passed from the right to the left bank of the Mulda. In the night of the tenth and eleventh, the two armies quitted their positions at Zorbig, Jessnitz, and Radegast, in order to place themselves behind the Saale: the army of Silesia marched upon Halle, and that of the North of Germany upon Rothenburg and

AUSTRIAN MILITARY REPORT.

Leipzig, October 10, 1813.

"On the nineteeth, at day-break, the enemy still held in force Zwey Naundorff, and the wind-mill in front of the suburbs towards Sonnewitz. The general attack was renewed at seven in the morning, and the enemy driven towards Leipzig. Here he sought to gain time to withdraw his troops, artillery, and baggage; for which purpose he sent a flag of truce, proposing to deliver up the rest of the Saxon troops, on condition that Leipzig should not be attacked, and that the French garrison, with all the property of the army, should be allowed freely to depart.

"This proposal was rejected. The allies were already masters of the suburbs: the enemy wished still to continue the defence of the city, into which the allies were already pouring their fire. The Saxon troops who were in the place suddenly turned their arms against the French; a Baden regiment of infantry followed the example of the Saxons; the affray became universal, the enemy were thrown into the greatest confusion; every individual thought only of his own escape, and the allies were masters of the city."

After enumerating the trophies of these signal victories, the Report proceeds as follows:—

"Prince Poniatowski, who on the sixteenth had been appointed a French Marshal, when he found that he could not escape by a bridge over the Elster, endeavoured to cross the river on horseback: and, according to the account of one of his Adjutants, made prisoner, was drowned in the attempt.

"This evening eight Polish infantry regiments have abandoned the enemy's standards, and come over to the allies.

"The field of battle, three miles in length, and as many in breadth, on which there has been nearly three full days fighting for the independence of Germany and the re-

Bernburg. The Emperour Napoleon, astonished at this march, arrested his movement upon the Elbe, and afterwards took the resolution of continuing it. He seized upon Dessau, the works and bridge of Roslau, detached two corps of his army upon Wittenberg, and caused General Thumen, who commanded the blockade of the fortress, to be attacked. That General, after a valiant defence, fell back upon the corps of General Tauenzeen, who had re-crossed the Elbe. The enemy immediately marched upon Roslau, and attacked General Tauenzeen, who, in conformity to his instructions, made a retrograde movement, to cover Berlin. The enemy moved upon Acken, with the design of destroying the bridge. The troops posted on the right bank defended the approaches of certain batteries scarcely completed, but were at length forced to retire to the left bank of the river, and carried off some boats that composed the bridge. They sustained no loss. That which they suffered in the pre-

pose of Europe, is so thickly bespread with the dead bodies of the enemy, that the loss of the French army at all points may be computed at 40,000 men, at the lowest. The total loss of the allies, in killed and wounded, may be estimated, at the highest, at 10,000 men.

"The three allied Monarchs were, during the decisive battle of yesterday, on the heights between Wachau and Probsthayda, the eye-witnesses of the extraordinary valour of their troops.

"His Imperial Majesty himself invested, on the field of battle, Field Marshal the Prince of Schwartzenberg, Commander in Chief, with the great cross of the order of Maria Theresa; his Majesty the Emperour of Russia was also pleased to confer upon his Highness the order of St. George, first class; and his Majesty the King of Prussia the order of the Black Eagle.

"Upon the General of cavalry, Blucher, who, by the wisdom and energy he had displayed in the most difficult operations during the course of the campaign, had contributed so much to the glorious results of these battles, his Imperial Majesty was pleased to confer the grand cross of the order of Maria Theresa; and upon General Gneisenau, the Quarter-Master-General of that officer, the cross of Commander of the same order.

"The combined army is in motion to pursue the enemy."

vious affairs, in the vicinity of Dessau, Cosurg, and Wittenberg, did not amount to more than 400 men.

"Information having been received from every quarter, that the Emperour Napoleon had assembled a considerable force between Duben and Wittenberg, in order to debouche through that city upon Magdeburg, and extricate himself from his hazardous position, the army of the North of Germany re-crossed the Saale on the thirteenth, and moved upon Cothen, with the design of following the march of the Emperour's army, and of attacking it wherever it might be met with. Intelligence had been received that the fourth and seventh corps of the second corps of cavalry were upon the right bank of the Elbe, the eleventh at Wittenberg, the third at Dessau, and the old and young guards at Duben. The Duke of Ragusa was at Delitzsch. The enemy, the same evening, attacked the town of Acken. The division of the Prince of Hesse Homberg moved in that direction; but General Hirschfeldt had already succeeded in repulsing that part of the third French corps which had made the attack.

Reply of the Emperour Alexander to the King of Saxony's Offer of Capitulation.

"His Imperial Majesty gave his answer aloud, in the hearing of many hundred officers, with remarkable force and dignity. He said in substance, that an army in pursuit of a flying enemy, and in the hour of victory, could not be stopped a moment by considerations for the town; that therefore the gates must be immediately opened, and in that case the most strict discipline should be observed: that if the German troops in the place chose to join their countrymen in this army, they should be received as brothers: but that he considered any proposal sent, while Napoleon was at hand, as extremely suspicious, as he well knew the enemy he had to deal with; that as to the King of Saxony personally, who had taken a line of determined hostility, he gave no answer, and declined making any communication.

"The heavy cannon and columns of attack were ordered to advance. In the meanwhile the Prince Royal attacked and stormed the city on the other side, a Prussian corps being the first in the square."—*Lord Cathcart's Despatch, Oct.* 19.

"The bridge of Acken was already re-established, and every preparation made to cross the Elbe by main force, when accounts arrived that the Emperour Napoleon had made several corps of his army retrograde, and had re-assembled his troops between Duben and Wurtzen. The presence, however, of two corps between Dessau, Wittenberg, and Duben, excited a suspicion that he intended to strike a grand blow, after having changed his plans. But being continually watched, all his movements were ascertained, and those of the army of the North of Germany were regulated accordingly. That army marched on the fifteenth October, upon Halle. The Emperour conceiving that it was going to re-cross the Saale, concentrated his army in the vicinity of Leipzig. The grand army of Bohemia commanded in chief by Prince Schwartzenberg, approached that city at the same time, and every moment rendered the situation of the French army worse. On the sixteenth October, the army of the North of Germany, instead of marching upon the Saale, moved to the left, and directed its march upon Landsberg. General Blucher, who had already marched upon Schkenditz, moved

The annexed brief description of the misery proceeding only from the first day's battle, is given in a narrative published for the relief of the unfortunate Inhabitants of Leipzig.

"Weeping Mothers, with beds packed up in baskets, leading two or three start naked children by the hand, and with perhaps another infant at their back; fathers seeking their wives and families; children, who had lost their parents in the crowd; trucks with sick persons forcing their way among the thousands of horses; cries of misery and despair in every quarter:—such were the heralds that most feelingly proclaimed the presence of the warriours who have been celebrated in so many regions, and whose imposing appearance has been so often admired. All these unfortunates crowded into the filthy corner formed by the old hospital and the wall at the Kohlgarter's gate. Their cries and lamentations were intermingled with the moans and groans of the wounded who were going to the hospital, and who earnestly solicited bread and relief. A number of French soldiers, probably such as had loitered in the rear, searched every basket and every pocket for provisions; they turned without ceremony the sleeping infants out of the baskets, and cared not how much the enraged

upon Freyroda and Radefeld, where he, the same day, attacked the enemy, and compelled him, after an obstinate engagement, to fall back behind the Partha. He took, upon this occasion, 2000 prisoners, an eagle, and thirty pieces of cannon.

"Every account announced that the Emperour Napoleon would attack the army of Silesia next day with the greatest part of his united forces. The army of the North of Germany put itself in march on the 17th, at two in the morning, from its position at Landsberg, and at an early hour, arrived upon the heights of Breitenfield, where it encamped. The day was tranquil. The following morning Prince William of Prussia and General Blucher joined the Prince Royal. His Royal Highness was informed, that the army of Bohemia would attack the enemy that day, and he resolved to take a vigorous part in the attack. He concerted with

mothers lacerated their faces in return. The scenes of horrour changed so quickly, that you could not dwell more than half a minute upon any of them. The tenderest heart became torpid and insensible.—One tale of woe followed on the heels of another.—'Such a person too has been murdered! Such an one's house has been set on fire!—This man is cut in pieces; that man has been transfixed with the bayonet!—Those poor creatures are seeking their children!' Such was the intelligence brought by every new fugitive. If you asked the French when the march would be over, you received the consolatory answer—'Not before six o'clock in the morning.' During the night, the sounds of drums and trumpets incessantly announced the arrival of fresh regiments.—At length, about midnight, the bustle somewhat subsided; at least, so far as regarded the marching of troops. I now seized the favourable moment, and felt myself as it were a new creature: when having made my way through the crowd, once more set foot in the city. *Thus the morning and the evening completed the first day of horrours.*"

From the same interesting Pamphlet, the following paragraph is extracted, it being a further proof, if proof were necessary, of the guile which distinguishes the Ruler of the French Nation, and which has so often materially contributed to his success:—

"I have forgotten to mention a circumstance worthy of notice in the history of this day. It is this; that in the midst of the cannonade all round Leipzig—when the whole city shook with the thunders of the artillery; and the general engagement had, strictly speaking, been just commenced—all the bells of the churches were rung by French command, to celebrate the victory won in the forenoon. Such an instance was certainly never afforded by any late battle which had scarcely begun, and terminated in the total and decisive overthrow of him, who had already fancied himself mounted in triumph

General Blucher, that the army of the North should proceed upon Taucha, to form a junction by its left with the army of General Benningsen, and that General Count Langerson's corps should act, during the day, under the orders of his Royal Highness. A cannonade was heard a few moments after, in the direction of the army of Bohemia, and the troops marched in order to pass the Partha. General Bulow's corps, and General Winzingerode's cavalry, which formed the extreme left, proceeded upon Taucha. The Russian army, whose advanced guard was commanded by Lieutenant-General Count Woronzoff, forded the stream, near Grasdorff. The Swedish army passed between that place and Plaussig. Already, on the preceding evening, General Winzingerode had caused Taucha to be occupied, and took in that place three officers and 400 men. The enemy, however, perceiving all the importance of that point, had dislodged the Cossacks, and occupied the village

upon the car of victory. This day, however, the engagement still remained undecided: the French had stood as if rooted to the spot,—the allies, like rocks of granite. The former had fought like men, the latter like lions. Both parties inspired by mutual respect, desisted from hostilities during the night."

On the twenty-fifth of October, the Prince Royal of Sweden addressed the following letter to Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Stewart, his Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin:—

"The zeal for the service, the talents, the valour, which you have shewn on all opportunities in the service of the good cause in which we are engaged, and of which you lately gave so many proofs in the battles near Leipzig, on the eighteenth and nineteenth instant, have induced me to request for you of the King, my master, the honours of a Grand Cross, and commander of the royal military order of the Sword. I reserve to myself the delivering of the insignia of this order into your hands.

"I deem myself happy in giving you herewith a proof of the well-deserved esteem which I bear to you, and of the value which I attach to the services rendered by your Excellency.

"I have to conclude with praying God to keep you, Lieutenant-General Stewart, under his most high and gracious protection. Your well affectioned, &c.

(Signed) "CHARLES JOHN.

"From my Head-quarters, at Arfem, Oct. 25, 1813."

in considerable force. General Baron Pahlen, bravely supported by Colonel Arnoldi, of the horse artillery, who had lost a leg on this occasion, made a brilliant charge, seized the village, surrounded two Saxon battalions that were there, and made them prisoners. The cavalry then advanced, and effected a junction with the advanced guard of General Neipperg, forming part of an Austrian division, commanded by General Count Bubna, belonging to General Benningsen's army. The Hettman Platoff arrived at the same time with his Cossacks, and, a few moments after, his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Constantine.

"The enemy, who had abandoned the village of Paunsdorff, vigorously attacked it again with infantry and several batteries. General Bulow's corps, which just came up, was ordered to attack that village. It was carried with great bravery. The enemy commenced a brisk cannonade. Several Russian and Prussian batteries returned the fire, and covered themselves with glory. The Russian cavalry, with Generals O'Rourke, Manteuffle, Pahlen, Bekendorff, and Chostak, at their head, remained several hours exposed to the fire of 100 pieces of artillery, with the most determined contempt of death, which appalled the enemy. Towards three o'clock he began to debouche his masses from the villages of Sellershausen and Volkmersdorff. The Prince Royal ordered the Russian cavalry to charge. The movement of the enemy was slackened, and he lost four pieces of cannon, and re-entered the villages. A few moments after General Manteuffle was struck with a cannon ball, of which he is since dead. This accomplished officer is universally regretted.

"Our columns were moving upon Leipzig, when

strong masses of the enemy were seen debouching between Molka and Englesdorff, threatening to turn our left. General Blucher who happened to be placed before the village of Stetteritz, ordered his troops to make a front movement, which was executed by General Count Neipperg, and the enemy was thus placed in the presence of his division. A Saxon officer of artillery had already passed over to us with ten pieces of cannon.* The troops placed at that point did not appear to be sufficiently numerous. It was necessary to reinforce them. The Prince of Hesse Homburg was ordered to proceed thither, and he executed his movement with the precision and regularity of a parade. General Bulow charged and seized the villages of Stuntz and Sellershausen, which were strongly occupied and protected with cannon. The resistance was obstinate, the Prussian troops maintained themselves there during the night, in defiance of the repeated efforts of the enemy. This attack decided the results of the day on that side. The enemy, however, continued to advance upon our left, in order to arrest our march upon Leipzig. As there was a want of artillery in that direction, the Prince Royal directed the Russian General, Baron de Witt, to invite, on his part, the officer commanding the Saxon batteries, to lend the use of his artillery until the arrival of the batteries of the army, which were detained in the defiles. This officer having already served under the Prince, hastened to do so, and the ten pieces intended a little before to consolidate the slavery of Germany, were afterwards employed to secure its independence. This example should prove to

* A considerable body of Westphalian and Saxon troops joined the Allies, and accepted the offer of the Prince Royal to head them, as they turned their guns against the enemy.

conquerors, that the terrour which they inspire terminates with the power which has created it. Colonel Diederichs, commanding the Russian artillery, attached to General Bulow's corps, rendered great services on this occasion. Captain Bogue, commanding the English rocket company, signalized himself in like manner. This brave officer was killed, and is universally regretted.* The rockets produced the most decisive effect.

"The enemy in the mean time caused a very considerable corps to debouche from Leipzig by his left, which moved against General Count Langeron. This General, who, with his troops, had displayed great valour in carrying the village of Shonfeld, found it necessary to support General Count de St. Priest, who had no artillery. Twenty Swedish pieces, under the orders of General Cardell, arrived at full gallop, the point secured, and the enemy, by a brisk and continual fire, was compelled to make a precipitate retreat.

"Night coming on, the army bivouacked.

"Generals Suchtelen, Steward, Vincent, Pozzodi, Borgo, and Krusemark, were, for several hours, exposed to the hottest fire. The first had a horse killed under him.

"At five o'clock the next morning, the enemy having retired from Volkmersdorff into the suburbs of Leipzig, the Prince Royal ordered General Bulow to carry the city. The latter directed the Prince of Hesse Homburg to make the attack; the division of General Borstell was intended to support it. The gate was

* *Vide* following note.

protected by a pallisade, and the walls were loopholed; notwithstanding which, our troops forced their way into the streets, when the Prince of Hesse Homburg was wounded by a ball. The enemy having occupied all the houses, the conflict became very violent, and remained undecided for some time. A reinforcement of six Swedish battalions which had come up, with a battery, rendered essential service. Major Dobelen was killed; he is a great loss to the army. The Swedish artillery was directed by Major Edenhelm, who was severely wounded. General Borstell took the command in the place of the Prince of Hesse Homburg. He arrived with fresh troops; the city was maintained; and such of the enemy as did not surrender were put to the sword.

"Five battalions of Russain chasseurs of the advanced guard of General Woronzoff, had in the mean time advanced to the support of the Prussian and Swedish troops, in the attack of the city. The fourteenth regiment of chasseurs, led by Colonel Krasowski, carried the gate called Das Grimmische Thor, and took several guns.

"General Baron Aldercreutz was at every point where the danger was greatest, inspiring the troops by his valorous example.

"As the enemy was obliged to make his retreat by the defiles of Pleisse, the baggage, cannon, and troops, pressed pell mell through the narrow passes which remained open to them, and which were soon choaked up by this general disorder. None thought but of making their own escape. The advanced guards of the army of Silesia, and of Benningsen, entered al-

most at the same time through the other gates of the city. The Emperours of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia, and the Prince Royal, met in Leipzig after this brilliant victory.

"The results of the battles of Leipzig are immense and decisive. Already, on the day of the thirteenth, the Emperour Napoleon had begun to put his army in retreat by the roads of Lutzen and Weissenfels. He did not quit this place in person until ten o'clock in the morning of the nineteenth.* Finding that a fire of musketry had already commenced at the Ranstadt gate, towards Lutzen, he was obliged to depart by the Pegau gate. The allied armies had taken fifteen Generals, and amongst them Generals Regnier and Lauriston, commanding corps d'armée.—Prince Poniatowski was drowned in attempting to pass the Elster. The corpse of General Dumourestier, Chief of the Staff of the eleventh corps, was found in the river, and more than 1000 men were drowned in it. The Duke of Bassano escaped on foot. Marshal Ney is supposed to have been wounded. More than 250 pieces of cannon, 900 caissons, and above 15,000 prisoners, have fallen into the hands of the Allies, besides several eagles and colours. The enemy has abandoned here more than 23,000 sick and wounded, with the whole of the hospital establishment.

"The total loss of the French army must amount to near 60,000 men. According to every calculation,

* "The capture, by assault, of the town of Leipzig, this morning; the magazines, artillery, stores of the place, with the King of Saxony, all his court, the garrison and rear-guard of the French army, all the enemy's wounded, (the number of which exceeds thirty thousand); the narrow escape of Buonaparte, who fled from Leipzig, at nine o'clock, the allies entering at eleven; the complete deroute of the French army, who were endeavouring to escape in all directions, and who are still surrounded, are the next objects of exultation."—Sir Charles Stewart's dispatch of the nineteenth October.

the Emperour Napoleon has been able to save from the general disaster not more than 75,000 to 80,000 men. All the Allied armies are in motion to pursue him, and every moment are brought in prisoners, baggage, and artillery. The German and Polish troops desert from the standards in crowds; and every thing announces that the liberty of Germany has been conquered at Leipzig.

"It is inconceivable how a man, who commanded in thirty pitched battles, and who had exalted himself by military glory, in appropriating to himself that of all the old French Generals, should have been capable of concentrating his army in so unfavourable a position as that in which he had placed it. The Elster and the Pleisse in his rear, a marshy ground to traverse, and only a single bridge for the passage of 100,000 men and 3000 baggage waggons—every one asks, is this the great Captain who has hitherto made Europe tremble?"

TWENTY-FOURTH BULLETIN.

"*October* 22, 1813.

"General Wesselchikoff attacked at Weissenfels the rear-guard of Murat, and took 2000 men and fifteen cannon; 1500 remained killed on the field of battle.—The Prince Royal removed his head-quarters to Merseburg this morning. The Emperour of Russia has his head-quarters at Eissenberg, from whence it will be removed forward to Jena. The King of Prussia is gone to make a visit to Berlin."

TWENTY-FIFTH BULLETIN.

"Head-quarters, Mulhausen, October 28, 1813.

"The Prince Royal yesterday removed his head-quarters to Mulhausen, to which place he had advanced by Merseburg, Artern, and Sondershausen.

"The great results of the battle of Leipzig become more and more distinguishable every day. The army of the Emperour Napoleon is retreating by forced marches, and every day suffers considerable losses.—It has taken its march towards Erfurt,* but according to the latest accounts, that place is in possession of the Allies.

"General Blucher closely follows the enemy at every step, whilst the great army of Bohemia, whose head-quarters were on the twenty-fourth at Weimar, is moving on the side of his left wing;—and the army of the North of Germany is partly on the side of the right wing, and in part, stretches beyond his wing. Generals D'York and Wasilschikoff, whose corps form the van guard of the army of Silesia, have attacked the enemy's rear guard, near Weissenfels and Freyberg, and taken upwards of 4000 prisoners, forty pieces of artillery, and a number of ammunition and baggage waggons. General Bubna has taken 600 prisoners from the Imperial Guards at Buttelstedt: and General Benningsen, who marched by the way of Bibra to Rastenburg, has found a great number of strag-

* *"The French army, though victorious, is arriving at Erfurt, as a defeated army would have arrived there."*—Buonaparte's Letter to his Empress.

glers, and of deserted cannon and ammunition waggons all along the road. On the road to Erfurt, the Emperour Napoleon himself gave orders to blow up more than 6000 powder-waggons.

"Colonel Chrapowitsky took possession of the city of Gotha, on the twenty-second, where he made prisoners the French Minister, Baron de St. Aymon, seventy three officers, and 900 men. He blew up eighty powder waggons. He then joined, at Molschieben, with General Ilowaisky, who had been detached from the grand army, to get round the French army. Colonel Benkendorff, at the same time, disturbed the enemy on the whole of his march to Erfurt; was continually skirmishing with the cavalry of General Sebastiani, and took a number of prisoners. General Tchernicheff, to whose corps the aforesaid partisans belong, has marched to Eiesnach, to be beforehand with the head of the enemy's column.

"On the nineteenth, the Emperour Napoleon had his head-quarters at Mark-Ranstadt; on the twentieth, at Weissenfels; the twenty-first, at Eckartsberge; early on the twenty-third he was at Erfurt, from whence he went to Gotha. Intercepted letters state, that the higher roads in the whole neighbourhood were covered, and, as it were, sown with numbers of runaways, without arms or clothing.

"Marshal St. Cyr has made a movement from Dresden towards Targau, probably with the intent of drawing the garrison of that fortress, and Wittenberg, to his corps, to reach Magdeburg and from thence retreat to France. Several considerable corps d'armée are advancing from all sides towards each other, and

joining, to engage him, and cut him off. General Tauenzeen is in the vicinity of Roslau, and will draw the corps of Generals Von Hirschfeld and Von Thumen to his own.

"General Count Tauenzeen follows the movements of General St. Cyr, and General Benningsen, whose army had already joined that of the Prince Royal, will cause the corps of General Dochtoroff to take the same direction, and will take on himself the command of all the Russian and Prussian troops which are destined to act against the enemy's corps. The corps of General Strogonoff will join the army of the Prince Royal. General Count Wallmoden observes the motions of General Davoust's army, who most probably will no longer delay his retreat.

"The total loss of the allied army of the North of Germany, in the battles of Leipzig, does not exceed from two to three thousand men in killed and wounded. That of General Count de Langeron has been more considerable. This General gives the greatest praise to the brave behaviour of Generals Koptzewitsch, the Count de St. Priest, and General Rondzewitsch, as likewise to all the officers and soldiers under his command.

" In the battle of the eighteenth October, the Lieutenant-General Sir C. Stewart himself planted the English rockets* in the midst of the briskest fire, and

*Sir Charles Stewart, in his despatch of the 19th October, makes the following observation:—"Some Prussian battalions of General Bulow's corps were warmly engaged, also at Paunsdorff, and the enemy were retiring from it when the Prince Royal directed the rocket brigade under Captain Bogue, to form on the left of a Prussian battery, and open upon the columns retiring. Congreve's formidable weapon had scarce accomplished the point of paralyzing a solid square of infantry, which after one

voluntarily undertook the performance of several of his Royal Highness's orders, which he executed to the entire satisfaction of the Prince Royal.

"Generals Tawast and Lowenhielm have distinguished themselves. The first brought up two batteries of twelve cannon to a point which was very briskly pressed by the enemy, and thereby contributed to secure this flank of the army. General Suremain himself directed the Swedish artillery, which fired on the gate of Leipzig, and afterwards on the streets of

fire delivered themselves up, (as if panic struck,) when that gallant and deserving officer, Captain Bogue, alike an ornament to his profession, and a loss to his friends and country, received a shot in the head, which deprived the army of his services.—Lieutenant Strangways, who succeeded in the command of the brigade, received the Prince Royal's thanks for the services they rendered."

I have also much pleasure in subjoining the following copy of a letter written on the 6th January, 1813, from his Royal Highness the Prince Royal of Sweden to Mrs. Bogue, through his Excellency Mr. Thornton, the British Minister, transmitting to her the Cross of the Swedish Order of the Sword, which Captain Bogue would have received had his life been happily spared; and accompanied by the additional flattering token of his Royal Highness's estimation of Captain Bogue's merits, and of the important services rendered by him, whilst in command of the British royal rocket brigade, during the campaign, and particularly by the capture of three thousand French, who surrendered to his own small force at Paunsdorff; and by the kind and munificent present to his family of ten thousand dollars.

(TRANSLATION.)

"Madam,"

"The King my Sovereign has deigned to authorize me to confer the Cross of his Military order of the Sword, not alone on the Swedish officers, but on those of the allied troops who distinguished themselves in fighting for the common cause.

"The manner in which your husband has conducted himself during the campaign, has well merited this reward of the brave.

"He died in the field of honour; and the plains of Leipzig, the last witnesses of his courage and of his intrepidity, saw him perish before I could confer on him this order of knighthood.

"I conform myself, Madam, to the customs of the English nation, of which Sweden is the faithful ally; and I transmit to you the decoration of the Order of which your husband has rendered himself so worthy. May it be in your hands a consolatory remembrance of his loss, as it is a testimony of his valour, and of the personal esteem

that city. The cavalry of General Winzingerode is pushed forward as far as Vach, and follows the enemy's motions, who appears in part to take the direction of Wetzlar. This General shewed the same talents and bravery in the battles of Leipzig, of which he had before given so many proofs. The Russian infantry have sustained their ancient fame, by a steadiness which always distinguishes them. Generals Woronzoff, Laptieff, Harpe, and Wonitsch, have, by their conduct, given his Royal Highness the highest satisfaction."

with which he had inspired me. I pray God, Madam, to bless and to keep you in his holy protection.

"CHARLES JOHN.

"At my head-quarters at Kiel,
"6th January, 1814."

Letter of Mr. James (son of Sir Walter James, Bt.) Aid-de-camp to Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Stewart, K. B. to John Hanson, Esq. communicating the melancholy particulars of Captain Bogue's death.

Bath, Nov. 11, 1813.

"Dear Sir,

"A duty, most melancholy in its nature, and peculiarly painful to myself, has devolved on me, in making you acquainted with the death of Captain Bogue; which melancholy event happened on the eighteenth of October, in the victory gained by the allies over the French in the neighbourhood of Leipzig.

"Out of respect to the feelings, and for the sake of the family of Captain Bogue, I have to regret that this melancholy task has not fallen to the lot of one who, in entering into the mournful particulars, would be better able than I am to shed, in their greatest lights, those drops of consolation that are most undoubtedly to be derived from an exit the most honourable and the most glorious. But if the affliction of relatives and the regret of friends are to be soothed by the reflection, that a duty has been honourably performed, by the conviction that every act of posthumous justice must be rendered to those exertions, which contributed in no slight degree to the success of that memorable day, then are the friends of Captain Bogue in possession of a consolation so often wanted in similar events.

"The rocket brigade, under the command of Captain Bogue, had been attached in its general movements to the body guard of the Prince Royal of Sweden, under the command of Colonel Urwetsom, with, however, the understanding, that on days of action it was to be more at liberty than those corps, and subjected only to the direction of Captain Bogue. Conformably with this arrangement, at the commencement of the action on the morning of the eighteenth, Captain Bogue addressed himself to General Winzingerode, commanding the advance of the Prince Royal, expressing his desire to see the enemy, with permission to engage. The general, much struck

The ridiculous tone of outrageous invective,* assumed in the French journals about this period against

with the gallantry and spirit of the address, granted, as guard, a squadron of dragoons, and requested Captain Bogue to follow his own plans and judgment. Captain Bogue lost no time in approaching to the attack of the village of Paunsdorff then in possession of five enemy's battalions, upon whom he opened, in advance of the whole, a most destructive fire. This was returned by musketry, and for some time a very hot combat ensued, when the enemy, unable to withstand the well-directed fire of Captain Bogue's brigade, fell in confusion and began to retreat. Captain Bogue seizing this moment, charged at the head of the squadron of cavalry; and the enemy, terrified at his approach, turned round, and taking off their caps, gave three huzzas, and every man, to the number of between two and 3000, surrendered to the rocket brigade, not, I believe, exceeding 200 men. The intelligence of this success being communicated to the Prince Royal he sent his thanks to Captain Bogue for such eminent services, requesting, at the same time, that he would continue his exertions; and the brigade proceeded, in consequence, to the attack of (I believe) the village of Sommerfeldt, still farther in advance. Sir C. Stewart accompanied the brigade, and I was of the party. The situation taken up in flank of the village was exposed to a most heavy fire, both of cannon ball and grape shot, from the enemy's line, and from the riflemen in the village: a ball from the latter soon deprived us of the exertions of poor Bogue; it entered below the eye, and passing through the head, caused instantaneous death.

"You will see, I am sure, how impossible it is for me to say any thing that can do justice to such actions. I had long been happy in the acquaintance and friendship of Captain Bogue, and no one, I am sure, more sincerely than I do, regrets the loss of a friend and a man, whom I was most proud to have it in my power to call a brother soldier.

"It remains for me to tell you, that the body was found a few hours afterwards, and decently interred the next morning at the town of Taehau, about two miles from Leipzig; all the brigade attending with the deepest regret the melancholy ceremony.

"With regard to the horses and effects of Captain Bogue, I hope you will have the goodness to make me, without ceremony, the instrument, on my return, for putting into execution any arrangement you may desire.

"I trust the sufferings of Mrs. Bogue are not so severe as you dreaded they would be. May I request to have my respects presented to her, and believe me,

"Dear Sir,

"Most truly and faithfully yours,

(Signed) "JOHN JAMES.

"*To John Hanson, Esq.*

"Rookery, Woodford."

*Extract from an Address to the Empress.

"No," said the Municipal Council of Gournay," "No, that nation which Napoleon has elevated to so high a degree of splendour and glory, shall not be conquered; which

the Prince Royal of Sweden, although it must have been felt by his Royal Highness as a compliment, inasmuch as it proves how very materially his exertions were considered by the French government to have contributed to the success of the allied army, was replied to in a most eloquent letter* from Leipzig, to Buonaparte, in which he is reproached with the basest ingratitude to the Prince Royal.

The author commences this letter by observing, that the article published in the *Moniteur* of October 14, 1813,† contains "a tissue of calumny and vulgar abuse

already has made so many sacrifices for its independence; which carried its arms among its enemies but to insure the civilization of Europe, and which associates its destinies with that of an hero, whose posterity will at a future day confirm its happiness.

"A traitor whom France had nourished in her bosom, now forgetting her favours, marches in the ranks of her enemies. The audacious man, decorated with a title which he alone owes to the *eclat* of the victories of our arms—clothed with a power which he ought to employ for supporting the true interests of Sweden, connected with the French cause—advances in the guilty hope of being one day able to tear the bosom of his country. A perfidious compact, contrary to the rights of all nations, and by which England has disposed to the nation whom he deceives, a colony which ought to be a pledge for peace, has already paid his infamous desertion. But a day will come when all traitors shall be punished. The thunder which struck Moreau is not yet spent, and God, the protector of the empire, has fixed the moment when the fall of that dishonoured warriour shall give a new example to the world.

"For us we will not cease to give our Sovereigns proofs of the fidelity and devotion which they have a right to expect; and we are ready to sacrifice every thing rather than suffer that our enemies, or the traitors who serve them, should ever pollute with their presence the territory of the grand empire."

*This letter has been erroneously ascribed to the Prince Royal; the facts it contains, however, leave no room to doubt that it was published by some individual perfectly acquainted with the views and character of his Royal Highness.

† Early in October, 1813, the Leipzig Gazette contained the following article:—

"The Prince of Sweden has for some time been issuing publications, which may literally be denominated pamphlets. It is inconceivable that this Prince should so far forget the rank to which he has been raised, as to sign productions issuing from the brains of a Kotzebue, a Schlegel, a Sarrazin, or a Goldsmith. The public asks, with astonishment, is not this the same Prince of Ponte Corvo, whom the French government deigned to appoint Marshal, and has since loaded with favours and gifts? Is he

which could only fill with disgust every honourable mind. Whoever was its compiler, none but Buonaparte himself could have dictated it. That personage is known as a writer; his style cannot be mistaken. It is not with a pen that he writes against his enemies, that is, against every man of principle, or who dares

not the same Marshal, who, in Hamburg, Hanover, and Elbing, imposed such heavy contributions merely to fill his private coffers? Is he not that Bernadotte, that violent jacobin, who, during his legation to the Court of Vienna, displayed the tri-coloured flag, occasioned his expulsion from that city? Is he not the same Bernadotte, whose principles France contemns, and, but for the indulgence and protection of the Emperour Napoleon, who generously forgave his errours, in consideration of his alliance with his family must now have been grovelling in the dust?

"Assuredly this is the very same man—he owes his elevation to the throne of Sweden, only to the admiration and regard which the power and successes of France had excited in Sweden, and who could not have seated himself in that throne but with the permission and consent of France."

"It shocks us to behold ingratitude, degradation, and disregard of every honourable feeling, carried to such an extreme.

"According to the opinion of persons who have the best means of information, the reason of this conduct is, that being paid by England, it has been imposed upon him as a duty to degrade himself, and to break for ever with France; and with this view he has been led to accept Guadaloupe, a French possession, and has promised to sign all the libels that the English may think proper to compose.

"Some deem it quite natural, that the Prince of Sweden like other renegadoes, should figure as the most violent enemy of his country. Others, in short, think that this Prince is rather to be pitied, inasmuch as his mother having been deranged, and some of his brothers and sisters being actually insane, he may have been impelled to his present line of conduct, by attacks of the same malady.

"The destiny of Sweden, in fact, is truly singular. She expels from the throne a Prince of disordered intellect, and calls to it a French General, who, born a Catholic, is compelled, as the first act of his government, to abjure his religion;—and this same General, the twentieth only in rank in the French army, whose principles and moral character are held in such slight estimation in his native country, is the son and brother of lunatics, and already begins himself to experience the attacks of that malady."

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* The idea that Sweden, in choosing Marshal Bernadotte for a successour to the throne, was directed by Buonaparte, is notoriously false; Buonaparte had not the most distant idea of such a choice, until after it was determined by the votes of the National Representatives; and moreover Buonaparte confesses, in his conversation, (vide page 140) with Baron de Lagerbjelke, "that the choice of Marshal Bernadotte to be *Prince Royal of Sweden, was by no means influenced by him.*"

to oppose his will: a pen dipped in gall would be too feeble an image; it is with the axe of the executioner that he appears to rough-hew the violent and abrupt expressions of his sanguinary tirades. But if there existed the shadow of a doubt as to the true author of this libel, the following reflections must dispel it. For more than two years past, the French gazettes, and all the journals subject to French influence, observed the most profound silence on every thing that concerns the relations between France and Sweden. The ingenious turns by which your journalists blinked that topic, when the course of events seemed absolutely to require its being noticed, might have excited a smile.

"In your *Moniteur*, you did not say one syllable about the interview at Abo; the treaties between Sweden, Russia, and England; on the arrival of the Prince Royal in Germany, at the head of a Scandinavian army; on the conferences at Treachenberg; or on the enthusiasm with which that prince was received by the people of Germany. You made such a secret of the true state of affairs, that French officers, brought in as prisoners immediately after the expiration of the armistice to the camp of the combined army of the North of Germany, were astonished at their seeing Swedish soldiers, being still ignorant that France was at war with Sweden. I admire your prudence. You know that the name of the Prince Royal of Sweden would make a profound impression on real French hearts; that it would awaken recollections dangerous to you—recollections of liberty and glory."

On the charge of libellist, applied to the Prince Royal by Buonaparte or his journal writer, our author observes as follows:

"The Imperial Gazette-writer, or the Journalist-Emperour, affirms with unequalled impudence, that the Prince Royal of Sweden for some time past has subscribed, with his name, writings which deserve to be characterized as libels; and that he employs mercenary authors for their production. The Prince Royal, however, has no occasion to borrow the pen of any man; he knows how to wield the pen as well as the sword, and with both he has directed destructive blows against you.

"Since Sweden entered the coalition, only a small number of documents on the general affairs of Europe have appeared with the signature of the Prince Royal. The two letters to the Emperour Napoleon, inserted in the report of the minister for foreign affairs, on the relations between Sweden and France; the proclamation to the Swedish army which defends the frontiers; that to the combined army of the North of Germany, and that to the States; together with the letter to the Emperour Napoleon, of the 23d of March, 1813, are I believe, the only writings authentically published under the name of his Royal Highness.

"Instead of vague abuse, why don't you reprint them in the *Monteur*, accompanied with notes, to persuade your readers, that they are really libels? You dare not! There is, especially in the letter of the 23d of March, wherewithal to dispel all the impostures with which Buonaparte is surrounded. That document forms an epoch in the annals of diplomacy, it is replete with great truths, delivered in a grand and majestic manner.

"It is useless here to remind the reader of all the

libels which Buonaparte has written, or caused to be written against the Sovereigns of Europe.—They are deposited in the *Moniteur* and the other Parisian journals; for as nobody in France dares now-a-days deliver an independent opinion on public affairs, we may be sure that every thing of this sort, hazarded by these journals, is dictated by the government, and the government is Buonaparte.—It is notorious, that not only as Consul, but as Emperour he has kept Barrere in pay—his old friend, and the orator of Robespierre—as the writer of his newspaper articles, and political pamphlets."

Speaking of the discourses, the manifestos, and the bulletins of Buonaparte, it is justly observed, "This man is consummate in hypocrisy, while not the slave of his passions. There is no name, however sacred, beginning with those of God and of Providence, which he has not profaned, for the promotion of his sinister ends; no noble sentiment to which he has not appealed; no hope dear to humanity, with which he has not sported.'

In the course of his observations on the career of the Prince Royal, during the French revolution, and after Buonaparte had assumed the supreme power, the author relates the following anecdote: "The Prince Royal, then General Bernadotte, did not act against the usurper, but he did not conceal his sentiments. Buonaparte feared him, and neglected no means of disarming his opposition, and of preventing the true friends of their country from rallying around him. During one of those ceremonies which Buonaparte instituted, to habituate the French to the return of monarchical forms, he observed with satisfaction to General Bernadotte, 'Every thing reverts into the

old order of things.'—'Yes, citizen consul,' replied the latter, 'every thing does revert; nothing is wanting thereto, but a million of Frenchmen, who perished for the cause of liberty.' "

General Bernadotte, like other French generals, was decorated with titles under the new regime, and on this topic, we extract the following acute remark:—

"Amidst this new formation of elevated ranks, those which were appropriated to victorious captains were almost those exclusively which had within them a principle of reality. In almost all countries it was the brilliance of martial exploits which founded the first nobility. The French generals were rewarded for having served France; others were so for having become the docile instruments of the schemes of Buonaparte."

After passing a high encomium on the disinterestedness, the urbanity, and moderation displayed by the Prince Royal, during the campaigns of a twenty years' war, which had generally assumed the character of a gloomy violence, the author proceeds as follows:

"You make a merit of not having retained the Prince Royal in France, when he was invited to the succession to the Swedish throne. No doubt, after having usurped the sole disposal of the existence to so many millions of Frenchmen, whom you permit neither to think, act, write, speak, nor even breathe freely; you might as well extend your claims thus far also: after other unheard-of violences, you might have practised this too. Why, then, don't you also boast

of not having caused the Prince Royal to be assassinated at the moment of his departure? We know you wished to cause the destruction of Moreau, but that you dared not. Perhaps also, on second thought, you deemed it less dangerous, to have an antagonist without, than to raise up one within France, or to push a man of energy to extremities.

"But what indiscreet fit of hypocrisy was it which induced you to reproach the Prince Royal for having adopted the religion established in Sweden for three centuries past? Truly, the zealous Catholic must feel highly edified! The reproach well becomes your mouth, who were a renegado in Egypt; the impostor who wished to pass for a prophet of Mahomet—the same man, who, returned to France, affected great zeal for the re-establishment of Catholicism—who engaged the Sovereign Pontiff, by the hope of restoring peace to the church, to sanction by his benedictions your elevation to the throne; who, in return, despoiled the venerable old man of all his States, dragged him into captivity where he still groans; who was excommunicated, and are so still, for the new concordat which you have dared to publish is only a new imposture. Buonaparte has, in turn, flattered Mahometans, Catholics, Protestants, Jews, even Philosophers, by proclaiming universal tolerance; he has deceived them all; and whatever be the religious opinions of men, they must all agree in abhorring one with whom religion has never been any thing else but the mask of hypocrisy, and the engine of his infernal policy.

"The reproach of having robbed France of Guadaloupe does not affect the Prince Royal alone, but the whole Swedish government. It is true, that accord-

ing to the old law of nations, established in Europe, a conquered province was never disposed of to a third power, until ceded by the original possessors, at the conclusion of a peace. But Buonaparte has trodden under foot that venerable code: he has incorporated with France a number of Provinces that never were ceded by their legitimate Sovereigns; the kingdom of Westphalia was put together in a similar way. His own proper acts have therefore rendered void his reclamations, and England has exercised only very moderate reprisals. Sweden, on the other hand, was entitled to seize this opportunity of retaliating on Buonaparte; he had invaded Pomerania: Sweden took possession of Guadaloupe. And if at a general peace that power should ever consent to restore Guadaloupe, in consideration of an equivalent, this would always be a service done to France in concert with the English government.

"By accepting Guadaloupe, Sweden wished to prove to the world that she was not afraid of Buonaparte. She early foresaw the fall of his colossal, but factitious power. Besides, what is Guadaloupe, when compared with so many other important colonies which France has lost since the rupture of the peace of Amiens? It was Buonaparte alone who brought this loss upon himself by his senseless obstinacy in making war on Great Britain. No enlightened Frenchman is ignorant, that the only hope which remains to France of recovering her colonies, is founded on the return of her government to principles of equity and moderation in Europe—to principles which the usurper Buonaparte will never sincerely acknowledge."

After thus tracing the views, the character, and the

policy of the Prince Royal, the author concludes with the following portrait of Buonaparte:

"Vain, then, is your attempt to render the Prince Royal odious in the eyes of the French, who can no longer mistake the true author of their calamities, nor the object which alone deserves their hatred. It is the man who has accumulated on their guiltless heads the hatred and the vengeance of nations. Who could sketch without some omission, the long career of crimes by which he arrived at, and has maintained himself in power? Buonaparte, born in Corsica, was educated in a military school in France, by the beneficence of the unfortunate Louis XVI.; he issued from it to become a furious jacobin: his first attempt to make himself notorious was a pamphlet, in the most revolutionary strain, called *Le Souper de Avignon;* after the ninth Thermidor, he was marked, arrested, and deprived of his rank, as an agent of Robespierre's: he flattered and betrayed all the factions in turn, till he became their master; he defiled the streets of Paris with the blood of citizens who claimed a constitutional right; he sacrificed a fine army to his chimerical projects in Egypt;—there he massacreed his Turkish prisoners, poisoned his own sick, and deserted his army at the most critical moment: returned to Europe, he attempted, at the head of his satellites, to dissolve the National Representation; and was at the point of failing in his enterprize, had he not been saved by his brother's presence of mind: arrived at power, he caused Pichegrue to be strangled in a dungeon, by his Mamelucs; he proscribed Moreau; he kidnapped the descendant of the great Condé, on a hospitable territory, and dragged him to punishment; the reign of terrour was restored in France; instead of one Bastile

which the French had demolished, he erected eight; all the dungeons were filled with state prisoners: suspicious as Tiberius, and cruel as Nero, he established in France a system of universal *espionnage*, which absorbs one half of the activity of all the public functionaries; every liberal idea was proscribed, every independent voice was smothered; the silence of death hovered, and still hovers over that country, inhabited by one of the most enlightened and ingenious nations of Europe: flattery alone is heard, and by a monstrous scaffolding of lies it endeavours to conceal such a multiplicity of horrours. His system of internal government has ruined the prosperity of France; his conduct in foreign relations forms only a tissue of Machiavelian perfidies.

"In the wars which his wild ambition has kindled for the last ten years, all those veterans, the old defenders of their country, have perished in succession; the youth of France, torn from their peaceful occupations, has been thinned, without pity! If the glitter of victories gained by French valour was for some years able to produce illusion, that illusion is now destroyed. Buonaparte, by abusing fortune, has at last tired her out; he now experiences reverses alone, and his success was his only merit. He has not one faithful ally: all of them aspire to shake off the yoke of vassalage, which imperious circumstances imposed, and which he decorated with the name 'alliance.' He has still satellites, whom fear for their own safety attaches to his person: he has not one friend in the whole world.

"The moment approaches, when this man, who so long wound his way in darkness to a height at which

he seemed to tread under foot the human race, is about to re-enter his original nothing. It is in vain that he would confound his name and interests with those of France: he has nothing in common with her: it is only his usurpation and tyranny which have hitherto connected the fate of France with his. The allies have loudly declared, that they do not make war upon the French nation, but upon Buonaparte alone. Amidst so many millions of men whom he calls his subjects, the tyrant is insulated; a general amnesty is proclaimed for all those who have served him, provided they relinquish his party, and act against him: he alone is proclaimed an outlaw against humanity.

"Never did a more august Senate preside over the destinies of Europe, than that which the allied Sovereigns form at this day. Can it be supposed that the Prince Royal of Sweden would not raise his voice in that Senate, in favour of his country, were the dismemberment or subjugation of France even hinted at? But France may obtain the most honourable peace, the moment she chooses to set limits to her despot's abuse of power.

"The allies wish only to re-establish the tranquility and independence of the civilized world. The Prince Royal of Sweden cherishes the remembrance of France; he ceases not to pray for her happiness. It is Buonaparte who has neither French blood nor a French heart.—After the manner of the ancient knights, the Prince Royal has nobly thrown down his glove: let his adversary take it up if he dare; let him come and terminate this great contest in single combat: the event would not be doubtful.—Methinks I see the Prince Royal of Sweden advance within the list, with that se-

rene front, that air so open and noble, which recalls the image of the Bayards and the Du Guesclins, against his adversary, bloated with pride, but loaded with curses, and his forehead already furrowed with the thunderbolts of celestial wrath. Methinks I see the shades of heroic Kings of Sweden appear in the clouds, to be witnesses of this judgment of God: methinks I see Gustavus Adolphus dart a look of indignation at him who profaned the name of the battle of Lutzen, by saying that it had been fought a second time by him for the liberty of Germany. Nations, the spectators, would applaud with enthusiasm, the generous enterprize of their defender; they would presage to him the victory: the monster would be thrown to the earth, and the world would resound with shouts of gladness."

From this necessary digression I turn with pleasure to a continuation of the brilliant manœuvres of the Prince Royal. The battle of Leipzig seemed the forerunner of a peace to Europe. It was the most sanguinary and extensive battle that had taken place during the war, and success in its amplest measure had attended the vast efforts of the allied chiefs. To each chieftain Europe is indebted for the glorious triumph acquired at Leipzig, but to none more than to the Prince Royal of Sweden.

TWENTY-SIXTH BULLETIN.

Head-quarters, Heiligenstadt, Oct. 30, 1813.

"The Prince Royal has this day removed his head-quarters to this place.

"The Emperour Napoleon continues his retreat to the Rhine: the allied armies pursue him, and are continually disturbing him. All information received assures us, that he has not above 50 or 60,000 men with him, the remainder of his army is dispersed, and is wandering about without guidance and without arms among the mountains.

"General Tchernicheff, who commands one of the vanguards of the allied army of the North of Germany, on the twenty-fifth instant, near to Elstrode, not far from Eisenach, caused a detachment of 800 cavalry, commanded by the General of division Fournier, to be attacked. He drove it into a defile, where the greater part of these men were cut to pieces, and 300 made prisoners.

"The Cossacks who made this attack were not more than two or 300 men strong. On information being received on the twenty-seventh, that a part of the young French guards had spent the night at Fulda, General Tchernicheff drew General Ilowaiski the second to him, and detached Colonel Benkendorff to Fulda.

"This officer drove away the enemy, took 500 prisoners from him, and destroyed the magazine of corn established there. As it appeared that the young guards formed the van guard of the French army, General Tchernicheff posted himself between it, and the army following it under the command of the Emperour Napoleon, and thus awaited the approach of the enemy's columns.

"As soon as he perceived its head, he caused it to

be attacked. Three squadrons of the gens d'armerie of the guards were attacked and driven back upon the troops that followed them.

"General Tchernicheff dispersed the van guard of the Emperour Napoleon, destroyed the magazines from which he thought to supply his army, and rendered the roads impassable.

"Lieutenant-General Count Woronzoff, early on the twenty-eighth caused Cassel to be garrisoned by a part of his van guard. A few hours afterwards, the corps of Count St. Priest, from the army of Silesia, entered that place. Count Von Woronzoff has followed them there to-day, and he will be followed by General Baron Von Winzingerode, with his whole army.

"The king of Westphalia, who was ignorant of the result of the battle near Leipzig, was still quiet at Cassel on the twenty-fourth, and had not more than four or 5000 recruits with him. It was not until the next day, the twenty-fifth, that he was informed how badly his brother had fared, and on the twenty-sixth he set off without delay by the way of Wetzlar for Coblentz.

"General Carra St. Cyr has again entered Bremen, but most probably will not remain there long.

"The Marshal Prince of Eckmuhl still remained on the twenty-sixth in the position he had taken behind the Steiknitz, but preparations were observed making for throwing a bridge over it near to Zollenspecker. What he intends doing, is not yet exactly known. Some people, who think themselves well informed, as-

sert that the Emperour Napoleon has given him orders to defend himself in Hamburg to the last extremity, to prevent the Danes from declaring against France as long as possible.

"The French do not agree well with the Danes: these wish for nothing more earnestly than to make common cause with the allies, and expect their king's declaration with the greatest impatience.

"The Saxon army which joined the allies, and received the army of the North under arms when it entered Leipzig, will take the field without delay. Their generals, officers, and soldiers, wish to avenge the insults that have been put on them.

"The King of Wirtemberg has declared himself for the good cause of the allies: his troops have already arrived at Aschaffenburg, and are on their march to join the Austrian and Bavarian troops, under the command of General Count Wrede.

"The liberation of Hanover will soon take place. Power and justice are on the point of destroying the structure raised by oppression and superiour force."

The Prince Royal, whilst at Heiligenstadt, received a deputation from the university and magistracy of the city of Gottingen, who were sent to express the sentiments of the inhabitants, and their hopes of soon beholding him within their walls.

On the first of November, the head-quarters of his Royal Highness were removed to Gottingen. The magistrates and armed burghers received the Prince Royal at the gates, the town bells ringing during the while; the air resounded with the joyful acclamations of the inhabitants, who flocked in crowds to meet his Royal Highness. Young women dressed in white, and with garlands of laurels in their hands, assembled at the former hotel of the prefecturate, where his Royal Highness alighted, and formed a row up the whole of the staircase to his chambers. In the evening the young students came, followed by the burghers of the city with torches and music, to offer their obedience with three cheers. The whole city was illuminated: the streets were filled with spectators, who embraced and wished each other joy, heartily shaking the Swedish soldiers by the hand.

On the sixth of November his Royal Highness arrived at Hanover. The Duke of Cumberland, who arrived there two days before, went to meet his Royal Highness at the outer part of the suburbs. A considerable corps of armen burghers, with white handkerchiefs round their hats and on their left arms, stood drawn up in parade.

The cannon were fired, and all the bells were rung. The windows of the houses were filled with ladies, who, participating in the general joy, saluted the liberator of their native country with the warmest expressions of emotion and gratitude. All the inhabitants of the city and of the adjacent country had assembled in the streets, and who, under the continual reiteration of "Long life to the Prince Royal of Sweden!" accompanied the suite to the palace of Monbrillant, where his

Royal Highness descended. In the evening the city was brilliantly illuminated. A great number of transparencies were exibited, the sentiments of love and loyalty to the lawful sovereign of the country, of joy for its liberation, and gratitude towards its liberator, were here in many cases blended together in one affecting picture. The Swedish army was now resting itself after its fatigue, and for the moment enjoying that repose of which it stood so much in need. It had performed long and fatiguing marches with worn-out shoes, and clothing in not much better condition, and in bad roads: yet nevertheless, the Swedish troops at Hanover, about 12,000 men in number, and on which his Royal Highness held a review, appeared to great advantage to the numerous spectators, by their fine conduct and discipline.

The several articles for their re-equipment having arrived, and the army being fully provided with all necessaries, prepared to proceed on its glorious career.

TWENTY-SEVENTH BULLETIN.

Head-quarters, Hanover, Nov. 10, 1813.

"The Prince Royal has trasferred his head-quarters to Hanover, after having marched by Gottingen, Einbeck, and Eltzi.

"The Emperour Napoleon has repassed the Rhine at Mentz; he left the roads covered with dead and

dying. These sad irrefragable testimonies of his defeats have indicated to the allied armies the route which they had to pursue: Hanau, in fine, has become to Napoleon a new Beresyna. It is only to the heroism of his soldiers and the talents of his generals that he owed his safety.

"General Tchernicheff, who constantly formed the advanced guard of the French army during its retreat towards the Rhine, greatly contributed to the result of the battle of Hanau. That general harassed the enemy during the whole of the thirtieth of October; and having learned on the thirty-first, that a corps of 10,000 cavalry was escorting the Emperour Napoleon, he resolved to charge them with five regiments of Cossacks, in which he succeeded even beyond his hopes; for he several times overthrew the enemy, who was compelled to retire under the fire of his cannon, and took from him 400 prisoners.

"This general, from Erfurt to the banks of the Rhine, has been incessantly a-head of Napoleon: sometimes attacking his advanced guard, at other times retarding his march, by blowing up the bridges, cutting up the roads, or throwing up abbatis. These operations; which the Emperour Napoleon affects to consider as an unfair mode of war, because they are pernicious to him, compelled him to engage in many combats, in which General Tchernicheff took 4000 prisoners, including two colonels and thirty other officers. This general's division has always acted as the flying corps of the North of Germany; of that army which Napoleon found at Gross Beren, at Dennevitz, and at Leipzig.

"Lieutenant-General Count Woronzoff praises highly the talents of Lieutenant-Colonel Chrapowitsky, who, hovering on the enemy's flanks during his retreat, took 500 prisoners. The advanced guard of General Baron Winzingerode has pursued the corps of General Riguad and other enemy's detachments, upon the road to Wesel and Dusseldorff. The town of Munster was occupied on the fifth by Russian troops. The enemy's force has lost in its retreat more than 600 prisoners, of whom Major Cziczensky took 500.

"General Tettenborn has kept in check with his corps the division of General Carra St Cyr, and the troops coming from Holland, which wished to re-occupy Bremen. The Prince Royal is much satisfied with the activity of that general.

"Marshal Davoust still occupies his old position on the Stecknitz, and can no longer effect his retreat to France. General Baron Winzingerode is one day's march from Bremen, and will extend his troops throughout all the country of Oldenburg, and even to the frontiers of Holland, whither he has already sent Colonel Narishkin. General Bulow is at Minden; he will send a corps to Munster, and his cavalry is ready to form a junction with that of General Tchernicheff on the banks of the Rhine. General Count Woronzoff is in march upon Luneburg. A division of the Swedish army, commanded by Lieutenant-General the Baron de Sandels, is at Brunswick; the division of Major-General de Posse at Hanover; and that of Major-General de Boye at Hildesheim: the cavalry, under Lieutenant-General Skioldebrand, occupy the villages about Hanover.

"The army recovers from its fatigues, and is repairing its clothing and equipage.

"The regency of the Electorate of Hanover has been re-established, and the enemy now occupies on the Lower Elbe only Harburg, Stade, and the small fort of Hope: but it may be presumed, that he cannot long defend them. The inhabitants of all classes have displayed at Hanover, and other places of the electorate, proofs of the most touching affection for their Sovereign. The Prince Royal, whose fortune it formerly was to command them as an enemy's general, has received with sensibility the marks of recollection and of acknowledgment which they have given him, for the manner in which he acted towards them.

"The head-quarters of the grand allied army were on the fifth at Frankfort. Thus, then, the unheard-of efforts which France has made in 1813, have had the same results as those she made in 1812. The French legions, which caused the world to tremble, are retiring and seeking safety behind the Rhine, the natural frontier of France, and which would be still a barrier of iron, had not Napoleon wished to subjugate all nations, and to ravish from them their country. Although these limits appear fixed by nature, the Russian army presents itself before them, because Napoleon went to seek the Russians at Moscow; the Prussian army appears before them, because, in breach of his sworn faith, Napoleon still retains the fortresses of that monarchy; the army of Austria appears before them because she has insults to revenge, and because she recollects, that after the peace of Presburg, the title of Emperour of Germany was torn from her supreme

chief: if the Swedes are there also, it is because amid profound peace, and in violation of the most solemn treaties, Napoleon treacherously surprised them at Stralsund, and insulted them at Stockholm.

"The allies regret the misfortunes of the French; they lamented the calamities which the war brings in its train; and far from being dazzled, like Napoleon, by the success with which Providence has favoured their arms, they are ardently desirous of peace. All nations sigh for that boon of heaven, and Napoleon alone has hitherto placed himself in opposition to the happiness of the world. Hence all the princes, lately his allies, hasten to abjure the ties which connected him with them; even those whose States had been aggrandized in consequence of his power or his influence, renounce their aggrandizement and his pretended friendship."

In the following Bulletin is to be seen another resolute and manly denunciation from the Prince Royal against Buonaparte. He boldly and correctly asserts that the French Ruler "does not wish for peace; and as Europe desires it, she ought to prepare to obtain it by means of arms." The Prince Royal is thoroughly acquainted with the views and principles of Buonaparte, and with the general sentiments of the French people: it must, therefore, be supposed that his opinions would have great weight in the decisions of the allies.

TWENTY-EIGHTH BULLETIN.

"*Head-quarters, Boitzenburg, Nov.* 30, 1813.

"On the sixteenth, the Prince Royal quitted Hanover, and arrived at Bremen on the seventeenth in the morning; on the twentieth his Royal Highness arrived at Celle; on the twenty-second, at Ueltzen; on the twenty-third, at Luneburg; and yesterday here.

"The Swedish army has passed the Elbe; Marshal Count de Stedingk, with his etat major, and the first brigade, is at Boitzenburg; the other Swedish brigades in the environs.

"The corps of Lutzen has passed the Elbe with the Swedish army.

"General Bulow's advanced guard, commanded by General Oppen, has made a movement upon the Yssel, and has been, since the twenty-third, at Doesburg. General Bulow, with the rest of his army, is on the banks of the Rhine, and the frontiers of Holland.

"At the attack at Doesburg, a great part of the garrison was cut to pieces. The approach of night prevented the exact number of prisoners from being known; but when the report was sent off, 200 had been reckoned, including a commandant and five officers. The capture of Doesburg does great honour to General Oppen, by the wisdom of his dispositions and the vigour of his attack.

"All the Duchy of East Friesland is delivered from the enemy. At Emden, Aurich, and throughout the country, the Prussian troops have been received with great marks of satisfaction.

"The fortress of Zutpphen has been carried by the detachments of Majors de Sandart and de Muller: 300 men were taken.

"General Baron de Winzingerode has his head-quarters at Bremen: a part of Holland is occupied by the detachments of his army. Upon the news of their arrival, the inhabitants of Amsterdam established a Regency, composed of men of whom the greater part are known for their energy and patriotism.

"The country of Jever is occupied by the Russian troops.

"The fort of Koltkamp has been taken by a detachment of the corps of Baron de Rosen; twelve pieces of cannon of different calibre were found there. The garrison are prisoners of war.

"Another Russian detachment seized an enemy's vessel, on board of which were fifty custom-house officers and soldiers.

"Major Elswangen has got possession of Zwoll, and made two officers and several gens-d'armes prisoners.

"The Cossacks of Colonel Narishkin have taken the town of Canpen, and made one colonel, five offi-

cers, and twenty-five gens-d'armes, and eighty infantry, prisoners.

"Groningen has been taken by the troops of General Winzingerode. One colonel, thirty-eight officers, and 800 men were made prisoners.

"Deputies from Groningen and other provinces have repaired to the head-quarters of the Prince Royal, to demand authority to form provisional governments, depending upon that of Amsterdam; their demand has been granted. The dignity of Stadtholder will, undoubtedly, be proclaimed. This is what Napoleon has gained by the union of that country to France.

"Several columns of troops have passed the Yssel, proceeding towards Utrecht and Amsterdam. One may look upon Holland as delivered. Good Frenchmen rejoice at it.

"The forts of Carlsburg and Blixen have been taken by a Russian detachment commanded by Colonel Riedinger, seconded by an English brig under the orders of Captain Farquhar. Twenty officers, 534 sub-officers and soldiers, and fifty pieces of cannon, were taken.

"The navigation of the Weser is free.

"Stade, strong by the marshy ground in the midst of which it is situated, was occupied by a numerous garrison. The commandant had caused all the dykes (one excepted) to be cut, and in consequence of the inundation, Stade seemed as it were in the midst of a

sea. Count de Strogonoff, however, undertook to attack it. The troops advanced with intrepidity along the only remaining dyke, under a cross fire from the place, and arrived at a bridge which the enemy had destroyed. Impelled by their courage, and the ardour of mounting to the assault, several officers and soldiers rushed into the fosse, where Count de Rostignaik, chief of the regiment of Saarloff, and the officer who commanded the head of the column, perished. Notwithstanding this example, it required all the general's authority to prevent the soldiers from continuing the attack. The garrison, however, fearing a renewal of the enterprize, evacuated the town during the night, and embarked for Gluckstadt, where they were received by the Danes. On the same night, General Strogonoff entered the town, and found in it three pieces of cannon, and a great number of killed and wounded. The loss he sustained may amount to about 200 men; that of the enemy was very considerable.

"Lieutenant-General Count de Woronzoff, who since the twenty-second had his head quarters at Winsen, has surrounded Harburg.

"Notwithstanding the superiority in number of the enemy's troops who passed the Elbe at Zollenspecker, Lieutenant-Colonel Lowenstern, forming part of the corps of Count de Woronzoff, drove them back, killed 100 of them, among, whom were two officers, took two pieces of cannon, and made more than fort prisoners.

"Lieutenant Jacobson, of the corps of General Woronzoff, attacked with 100 Cossacks two squadrons of

horse chasseurs, of the garrison of Horneburg, and after having killed twenty men and made thirty prisoners, took possession of the town.

"Stettin has capitulated: the conditions are, that the garrison shall surrender prisoners of war on the fifth of December, if not relieved before that period.

"The German troops which were in Magdeburg, have been permitted to return to their homes, under the condition of not serving against France before the term of one year. The garrison is badly provisioned, and the soldiers are discontented.

"General Narrbonne, Governour of Torgau, is dead, General Duiailles, who replaces him, and three other generals, are dangerously ill of the epidemical fever which prevails in the town, and which daily carries off a great number of victims.

"Marshal St. Cyr has capitulated, and Dresden is in possession of the allies.

"Thus, with the exception of some strong places which are about to be attacked, the whole country between the Elbe and the Rhine is delivered from the enemy. All the inhabitants are arming themselves, and Germany will soon present the spectacle of an entire people armed for the protection of their independence.

"The free Hans Town of Bremen has received its ancient constitution. It must be expected that the sister cities of Hamburg and Lubeck will soon enjoy the same happiness.

"According to recent intelligence, a melancholy despair reigns among the unhappy citizens of Hamburg. The soldiers are tired of the war, and desire to return to their families. The bank has been carried off, and thus a public crime has been committed. The principal inhabitants are forced to work at the fortifications, and their labour is continued during the night as well as the day.

"All the trees of Wilhelmsburg have been cut down, and the bridge built by the French between that island and Hamburg is destroyed.

"In pursuing the noble object of all its efforts, that of a general peace, the army of the North of Germany could not permit an enemy's force to be cantoned upon its communications.

"Germans by origin and language, the inhabitants of Holstein ought to rejoice in the liberty which has just been restored to their fellow-countrymen; they must desire the removal of an army whose presence presages nothing but misery. If their territories be the theatre of war, they have only to accuse the policy of the Danish government.

"But it is still not too late; it still depends upon the King of Denmark to spare the country this scourge—a country which for several generations, has been the seat of prosperity and peace. In abandoning the cause that has been so fatal to his own dignity, and the interests of his people—finally, in accepting the proposals of the Allied Powers, the King of Denmark may divert the storm that threatens his dominions—

their present and future fate depends upon the resolution he is about to adopt.

"Pamplona has capitulated. The victorious troops of the Marquis of Wellington are now upon French ground; it is for having attacked the Spaniards in the bosom of peace, that the peaceful inhabitants of the Adour behold an enemy's army upon its banks. The Emperour of Russia, the Emperour of Austria, the King of Prussia, and other formidable armies, are upon the banks of the Rhine. One single object directs all these masses—a general peace, founded upon natural limits, the sole guarantee of its solidity. In the long miseries that have desolated the Continent, the instruments have been as much to be pitied as the victims; and it is the happiness of Frenchmen, as well as that of their own nations, that the allied Sovereigns desire. War can have but one honourable object, a conquest which alone is desirable and just—peace. Millions of voices demand it of the French people. Will they be deaf to the voice of humanity, of reason, and of their dearest interests?

"Who is the Frenchman—who is the man that is a true European, that has not been profoundly affected in reading the reply of Napoleon to the Senate?—The president of that assembly, in the name of France, demands peace of the Emperour; and this Sovereign, who for two years has been the witness of the death of six hundred thousand men, replies coldly, and merely says, that posterity shall acknowledge that the existing circumstances were not above him.

"Thus, the Emperour Napoleon does not wish for peace; and as Europe desires it, she ought to prepare to

obtain it by means of arms. Let us hope that the wishes of the French will unite with those of Europe!"*

TWENTY-NINTH BULLETIN.

Head-quarters, Neumunster, Dec. 12, 1813.

"His Royal Highness, after having passed by Oldeslohe and Segeberg, removed his head quarters to Neumunster on the eleventh instant. The troops of General Borstell had an affair with the enemy before Wesel, on the second of December. The result was advantageous to them. The regiment of Cossacks of

* The annexed Manifesto was issued at this time by the allied Sovereigns from Frankfort, and although its language is apparently mild and conciliatory, yet it concludes with the declaration, that "they will not lay down their arms until the political state of Europe be re-established anew," &c.

Frankfort, December 1, 1813.

"The French government has ordered a new levy of 300,000 conscripts. The motives of the Senatus Consultum to that effect contains an appeal to the allied powers. They, therefore, find themselves called upon to promulgate anew, in the face of the world, the views which guide them in the present war; the principles which form the basis of their conduct, their wishes, and their determinations.

"The allied powers do not make war upon France, but against that preponderance, haughtily announced—against that preponderance, which to the misfortune of Europe, and of France, the Emperour Napoleon has too long exercised beyond the limits of his empire.

"Victory has conducted the allied armies to the banks of the Rhine. The first use which their Imperial and Royal Majesties have made of victory, has been to offer peace to his Majesty the Emperour of the French.

"An attitude strengthened by the accession of all the Sovereigns and Princes of Germany, has had no influence on the conditions of that peace. These conditions are founded on the independence of the French empire, as well as on the independence of the other States of Europe. The views of the powers are just in their object, generous and liberal in their applications, giving security to all, honourable to each.

"The allied Sovereigns desire that France may be great, powerful, and happy; be-

Bisculoff, which has already distinguished itself on many other occasions, was there covered with glory.

Major Knoblock, of the corps of General Borstell, surprised the town of Neus, opposite Dusseldorff. An eagle, a colonel, eighteen officers, and some hundred soldiers, were there taken. Possession was also obtained of a magazine of forage and regimental clothing. Colonel Hole, who commanded the expedition, pursued the enemy as far as the road to Juliers. Thus the troops of the army of the North of Germany find themselves on the French territory. It is still hoped, however, that the grand confederation, armed for the liberty and independence of the Continent, will not be forced to pass on, and seek in ancient France, that peace of which all the inhabitants of the earth have such need.

"After a short bombardment, the corps of General Winzingerode has possessed itself of the fort of Rothenburg. The garrison have been taken prisoners of war.

cause the French power, in a state of greatness and strength, is one of the foundations of the social edifice of Europe. They wish that France may be happy,—that French commerce may revive,—that the arts, those blessings of peace, may again flourish; because a great people can only be tranquil in proportion as it is happy. The powers confirm to the French empire an extent of territory which France, under her kings, never knew; because a valiant nation does not fall from its rank, by having in its turn experienced reverses in an obstinate and sanguinary contest, in which it has fought with its accustomed bravery.

"But the allied powers also wish to be free, tranquil, and happy, themselves. They desire a state of peace, which, by a wise partition of strength—by a just equilibrium, may henceforward preserve their people from the numberless calamities which have overwhelmed Europe for the last twenty years.

"The allied powers will not lay down their arms, until they have attained this great and beneficial result—this noble object of their efforts. They will not lay down their arms, until the political state of Europe be re-established anew—until immovable principles have resumed their rights over vain pretensions—until the sanctity of treaties shall have at last secured a real peace to Europe."

"The Prince of Eckmuhl, with a view of obtaining intelligence, and to make prisoners, has made a sortie from Hamburg with all his cavalry: he had supported them with a reserve of several battalions. This corps, under the orders of the General of Division, Vichery, attacked an advanced post of the Cossacks placed at Tondorff, and pursued its march with so much impetuosity, that it entered Rahlstedt along with the picket. The regiment of Cossacks which entered that place, was obliged to retire upon Seik, where General Pahlen was, with six squadrons of regular cavalry, placed by General Woronzoff. In less than four minutes, these last forces were under arms. General Pahlen, well known in the army by his military talents and manly intrepidity, immediately led them to the charge. Colonel Tumen, at the head of a squadron of the regiment of Izoum, began the attack with so much vigour, that it immediately overthrew the enemy, who was from thenceforth in complete route. They were pursued to Wandsbeck. The road between Seik and Wandsbeck was strewed with dead; more than 200 were counted; and above 150 prisoners, of whom one was an officer, were taken. The Colonel of the Jutland dragoons was wounded, and died soon after of his wounds.

"General Dornberg attacked, with three battalions, three regiments of Danish infantry that had come out of Oldeslohe. The enemy was briskly pressed as far as Bode, and night put an end to the combat. The General made some prisoners.

"A squadron of dismounted hussars attacked the village of Benthorst, where there was a company of

Danish infantry. It made twenty prisoners and dispersed the rest.

"A detachment of the advanced guard of General Wallmoden has taken a part of the enemy's baggage at Eckenfohrde, and made some hundreds of prisoners.

"General Tettenborn, who has passed the Eyder with his corps, has occupied Frederickstadt, Tonningen, and Husam, and has sent detachments towards Flensburg and Sleswick. He has surrounded the fort of Vollerwyk. He has surprised, at Harnau, 120 carriages, conveying the sick of the hospital of Altona. One hundred and twenty of the escort were made prisoners; the rest saved themselves by favour of the night. At Husum he took seven cannon. The General has also disarmed the Landsturm of Tonningen and Husum. More than 300 muskets were taken there. One of his detachments has detroyed the depots of cavalry which were at Itzehoe. The enemy has lost many men in killed and wounded. One officer, 100 soldiers, and 120 horses, have been taken.

"The Swedish army has advanced upon the Eyder, between Rendsburg and Kiel. Its detachments occupy this latter place. The head-quarters of Marshal Count Stedingk are at Preetz.

"The inhabitants of Ploen, and of Eutin, have received the Swedish troops with great acclamations of joy. Those towns have been illuminated.

"General Skioldebrand, who was engaged in pursuit of the enemy, came up with them in front of Bornhoft. He found that their force, consisting of

three battalions of infantry, and two regiments of cavalry, was drawn up in battle, and had a battery of six pieces upon their left flank. The fire of their grape shot became lively and destructive; but General Skioldebrand himself, at the head of his troops, charged with so much vigour, that the battery was carried, the battalions broken, and forced to lay down their arms. The enemy's cavalry took to flight; all that of General Skioldebrand pursued it, leaving only a squadron to receive the battalions which had surrendered. By treachery, or at the instigation of some of their officers, these troops took up their arms, fired upon our cavalry, and did great mischief. Some squadrons of hussars which pursued the enemy, immediately returned to the charge, and sabred those battalions. As the enemy had in the village of Bornhoft a considerable corps of reserve, only the battery, and about 300 prisoners could be taken. Their loss in killed and wounded is very heavy: ours amounts to about 200 men, and as many horses. Captain Planting, and Adjutant Cock, of the Morner hussars, have been killed; and Colonel Cederstrom, of the same regiment, wounded. The Swedish cavalry displayed in this affair a rare intrepidity: it charged on very difficult ground three different kinds of corps (cavalry, artillery, and infantry,) and obtained complete success.

"It is painful to be obliged to mention combats which have taken place between the children of the North. They ought only to produce mourning and silence. The Sovereign whose policy has provoked them, can alone desire that they should be prolonged. Let us hope, that the King of Denmark will put an end to this war of brethren; and that his kingdom,

and that of Sweden, will present the image of one family; to be tranquil and happy.

"The enemy, cut off from Rendsberg by General Wallmoden, retired upon Kiel, pursued by General Skioldebrand. He passed the canal, and proceeded by the opposite bank, upon the fortress, after having destroyed the bridges. It required twenty-four hours to repair them. General Wallmoden, who had advanced to Klawenseek, threw others across; and detached General Dornberg upon Eckernforhrde, after having received intelligence that the enemy was retiring upon that point. The advanced guard of General Wallmoden had passed long before. Some battalions, and a regiment of hussars, which should have guarded the bridge, and kept up the communication with General Dornberg, were attacked at Ostenrode by the enemy's army, which, fearing no doubt that it should be destroyed in its march upon Colding, took the sudden resolution of piercing to Flendsburg. The corps of General Wallmoden being separated, could not arrive in time to take part in the action. This General sustained, with one regiment of hussars, four battalions, and four pieces of cannon, a long and obstinate combat, against a force of 10,000 men at least, with a numerous artillery. Success was a long time balanced; but at last the enemy were enabled to gain possession of the road to Rendsberg. The soldiers were often mixed with each other; and although the number of Danes was in the proportion of three to one, the field of battle remained with Count Wallmoden. The foot and horse chasseurs of Mecklenberg, which formed the advanced guard of General Vegesack, arrived in time to take part in the engagement, and to decide it. Its cavalry made a brilliant charge against the regi-

ment of Holstein, and under the cross-fire of several battalions, which were placed behind the hedges.—Prince Gustavus of Mecklenburg, who has distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner, has been wounded. His great valour having borne him into the midst of the enemy, he fell into their hands; but he was afterwards exchanged for an officer of the same rank. It is hoped that his wounds will permit him to continue the war. His conduct has been above all praise. Colonel Muller, of the Mecklenburg chasseurs, has conducted himself in a brilliant manner.—Count Wallmoden has lost in this affair one cannon, and from five to 600 men killed, wounded, or missing. The loss of the enemy, by his own confession, is more than 1000 men. In this engagement, which does great honour to Count Wallmoden, and in the preceding, which consisted of skirmishes, that General has taken eight pieces of cannon, and 400 prisoners. Young Lieutenant Muhlenfels, of the hussars of the legion; and Lieutenant Maurenholz, of the hussars; with a score of hussars, and the same number of Hanoverian chasseurs, have performed prodigies of valour, and taken five cannon.

"The Prince of Hesse has demanded an armistice. It is probable that the differences between Sweden and Denmark will soon be settled, and that Denmark will at last join herself to the allies."

THIRTIETH BULLETIN.

"*Head-quarters, Kiel, December* 16, 1813.

"The armistice demanded by the Prince of Hesse has been granted. It began on the fifteenth instant,

at midnight, and will finish on the twenty-ninth, at the same hour. We shall profit by this interval to push the operations against Hamburg. The Danish army has been able to enter Rendsberg as it were by a miracle. Two hours later, and it would have been forced to lay down its arms, or to disperse. The fort of Vollerwyk has surrendered to the corps of General Tettenborn, after having been cannonaded for some days. The garrison are prisoners of war, and are not to serve again till they are exchanged. Eighteen cannons and ten mortars have been taken there. The number of pieces of cannon taken by General Tettenborn, since his entrance into the Duchies, amounts to thirty-eight.

"The characteristic talents of the Cossacks, of extricating themselves out of difficulties on all emergencies, has shewn itself on this occasion. For want of artillerymen, they themselves served the artillery, with which they fired against the battery. The most severe weather, roads almost impracticable, nothing stops these warriours. An army which has Cossacks at its command, will always find its operations, and its success, facilitated by their vigilance.

"The forts of Frederiksort, and Gluckstadt, are not included in the armistice. If the Danish government wishes for peace, these places will not experience the horrours of a bombardment. The army has halted in the midst of its successes; the time which it loses by waiting for the conclusion of a peace, is of incalculable importance. Thus have the allies given to Denmark and to Europe, an evident proof of their moderation. If hostilities re-commence, it will doubtless be a great misfortune; but no one can reproach the allies with those consequences.

"Two regiments of Cossacks, of the corps of General Benkendorff, have advanced upon Breda. The garrison has evacuated that place, and retired upon Antwerp, pursued by the Cossacks. The town of Breda, wherein 600 prisoners have been made, was immediately occupied by the allied troops.

"Thus the army of the North of Germany occupies, at this moment, a line from Breda to Dusseldorff. In consequence of the armistice, it has recalled all the parties in Schleswig; and its troops hold in this Duchy, the line from Eckenforde to Husum. The dispositions have been so taken, that upon the extremity of each of its wings, it can assemble an army of 35,000 men in three marches.

"This exposition ought to be sufficient to convince Denmark of the wrong which she has done to the allies, and to the good cause. Every day is an age lost to the interests of that government."

From these very interesting documents it is to be observed, that Europe was principally indebted, at this period, for her glorious prospects of triumph, to the personal exertions of the Prince Royal of Sweden, during the last two months. In a few days he conquered Holstein and released Lubeck,* whilst a part

* The following letter was addressed by the Prince Royal to his son, on the seventh of December, from Lubeck. It must be read with universal satisfaction, and is a powerful evidence of the mind and sentiments of his Royal Highness.

"My dear Oscar,

"The people of Lubeck assisted Gustavus the First in restoring liberty to his coun-

of his army powerfully contributed to the military operations in Holland; and, moreover, to the exertions of the Prince Royal must be attributed the complete overthrow of the fabric of the pretended Westphalian kingdom, and the restoration of the houses of Hesse, Brunswick, and Hanover, to the dominions of their ancestors.

A brief statement of the late operations may be here necessary.

On the fourth of December all the corps of the Prince Royal's army moved forward; and on their crossing the Strecknitz, Marshal Davoust precipitately retired upon Hamburg, leaving quite exposed the right wing of the Danes, which was posted at Oldeslohe. The French marshal was pursued by General Woronzoff, who moved beyond Bergedorff, and defeated the whole French cavalry in a sanguinary engagement at Wandsbeck. General Wallmoden marched direct upon Oldenslope, Marshal Stedingk manœuvred on Lubeck; and General Baron de Tettenborn, with his light troops, pushed into the interiour of Holstein by Trettau, and hung on the flanks and rear of the French. From the first day, the last named officer cut off all communication between the French

try. I have just paid this debt of the Swedes—Lubeck is free. I had the happiness of gaining possession of the city without bloodshed. This advantage is dearer to me than a victory in a pitched battle, even though it might not cost me many men. How happy are we, my dear son, when we can prevent the shedding of tears!—How sound and quiet is our sleep. If all men could be convinced of this truth, there would be no more conquerours, and nations would be governed only by just Kings. I set off, to-morrow, for Oldeslohe, and the day after, whither events may call me. I do every thing to make them conducive to the good cause and the benefit of my country. The only recompense I desire, is, that it may second you, my dear child, in every thing you will one day undertake for its prosperity and welfare.

Your affectionate Father,

"CHARLES JOHN.

"Lubeck, Dec. 7, 1813."

and the Danes, and took from the latter a considerable number of prisoners, carriages, and ammunition waggons, and likewise intercepted some important dispatches.

Prince Frederick of Hesse did not hold out against all these combined movements, but commenced a precipitate retreat on the Eyder. Lubeck was evacuated by the Danes, who were defeated on the seventh of December by the Swedes, and vigorously pursued by General Wallmoden, when an obstinate engagement ensued with a part of his troops, against the whole Danish army. The action was well contested, and the Danes were finally obliged to retire to Rendsburg.

The communication between General Dornberg, (who had been detached upon the right bank of the Eyder) and General Wallmoden being momentarily cut off, and the enemy having been reinforced at Schleswig by four battalions, a regiment of cavalry, and ten pieces of cannon, arrived from the interiour of the country; the critical position of General Dornberg obliged General de Tettenborn to direct his operations towards Schleswig, which place he was preparing to attack, in case the enemy did not accept a summons he had sent him to evacuate the place, when intelligence arrived of the following armistice having been concluded with the Danes by the mediation of Austria.

Suspension of arms between the allied armies and the Danish forces.

"It is agreed upon—

"1. That all hostilities between the Allies and the

Danish forces shall cease, from the fifteenth of this month at midnight, with the exceptions contained in the second article, and the armistice shall be in force until the twentieth instant, at midnight.

"2. Pending the duration of the armistice, the Allies shall be at liberty to possess themselves, if they can, of the fortress of Gluckstadt, and that of Friedrickstadt, Prince Frederick of Hesse having declared, that it was not in his power to cede those places, because they were not under his command.

"3. The Allied forces shall evacuate the Duchy of Schleswig, with the exception of the points herebefore mentioned, which shall be occupied by them, as well as all the territory situated between the line which these points form and the Eyder, viz: Eckrenforde, Golteburg, Heckeburg, Selk, Hollingstadt, and Husam.

"4. The high road of Rendsberg to Schleswig shall be opened to couriers. The Danish army shut up in Rendsburg, are to draw their means of subsistence by this route alone, for the numbers actually under arms, and the sick in the hospitals. There shall be granted from ten to twelve thousand rations per day; and the Danes are at liberty to provision the place every three days, for which purpose commissaries shall be appointed on both sides, to take cognizance, by approximation, of the rations carried into the place.

"5. During the cessation of hostilities there shall not be carried into the place of Rendsburg, either ammunition or troops. The garrison is not to be augmented, under any pretext, before the resumption of

hostilities. The Commander-in-chief of the Danish troops, Prince Frederick of Hesse, pledges himself besides, not to add to the fortification of the place, nor construct any fluckes, &c. On the other hand, the Allied army will not throw up any fortifications whatever against the place, and they shall, during the duration of the armistice, remain behind Swenstedt and Sterfeldt, and Swenburg, towards Holstein, which places shall remain neutral, and on the side of Schleswig, behind Schirnum, Bunsdorff, Duvenstadt, Lorsbruck, Holm, and Elsdorff, and they may be occupied by the advance posts of the place.

"6. The garrison of Rendsburg shall not make any sortie, attack, or march against the Allied forces, during the armistice; and, on the other part, the Allied troops shall not make any attack or march against the place.

"7. There shall not be at Schleswig more troops than such as are appointed for the guard of Prince Charles of Hesse, and these shall not exceed 1000 men. Troops coming from the interiour shall not proceed beyond Honeburg.

"8. The Allied army not to augment the number of their forces in the Duchy of Schleswig, before the armistice shall have expired.

(Signed,)

"Comte GUSTAVE DE LOWENHIELM,

"Comte DE BANDENFLETTS.

(Accepted,)

"FREDERICK, Prince de Hesse.

"*Rendsburg, Dec. 15,* 1813."

THIRTY-FIRST BULLETIN.

"*Head-quarters, Kiel, Dec.* 21, 1813.

"General Benkendorff has made himself master of Gertruydenberg; General Lorangage who commanded there, is to return to France with his garrison, on condition of not serving against the allies for one year.

"The fortress of Williamstadt was evacuated with so much precipitation, that the enemy abandoned twenty gun-boats that were there.

"In all the towns of Holland that have been restored to freedom, Burgher-guards are forming.

"Gluckstadt is surrounded. If the place be not surrendered by the first post, it will be stormed. The garrison had established near the village of Soenfloth, in a very advantageous position, a battery of four thirteen pounders, with 200 infantry to serve it. A battalion of the brigade of General de Boyle made itself master of the battery, pursued the enemy under the grape-shot fire of the fortress, and made many prisoners.

"All the preparations had been made to attack the fortress of Fredericksort; the troops of the second brigade, under General Baron de Posse, were at 300 paces from the wall. After a very sharp fire, which lasted a day and night, and which our soldiers sustained with their northern *sang-froid*, the commandant capitulated on the nineteenth. We found in the

place, 101 pieces of cannon, much ammunition, including four or 500 quintals of powder. The garrison are prisoners of war."

Whilst the negotiations for a peace with Denmark were carrying on, the French Marshal Davoust, who commanded in Hamburg, exercised the most wanton and tyrannical conduct towards the inhabitants, and upwards of 30,000 men, women, and children were forced to leave their houses, destitute of every means of support.

The following is an extract from the French Marshal's orders of the twentieth of December:

"The following shall leave the city within twenty-four hours, that is, on the twentieth, between twelve and two, viz.—all inhabitants born without the walls of Hamburg.

"1. All Foreigners, of both sexes, who have not their usual residence in the city, and have paid no direct tax since the first of January, 1813.

"2. All students born out of Hamburg.

"3. All commercial servants, journeymen, manufacturers, and apprentices, born out of Hamburg, and not named in the list of the fifth article.

"4. "All beggars and vagabonds.

"5. Excepted from the rest are labourers employed on the fortifications, or other public works, by the engineers or artillery, on the bridges and causeways, and with the civil and military authorities," &c.

The Prince Royal of Sweden, on hearing of the above order, instantly directed the sum of 40,000 dollars to be dedicated to their immediate relief, and subscriptions for the same purpose were opened in different towns on the continent. The following address to the exiled Hamburgers was also issued by order of the Prince Royal.

"By an order of the twentieth of December, the Prince of Eckmuhl turned you out of your homes and plunged you into misery. Do not give way to despair; be firm, be courageous. As the faithful interpreter of the principles which guide the allied powers, the Prince Royal of Sweden calls you to him, and offers you relief.

"If it is a misfortune that you were not enabled to provide yourselves and families with provisions for six months, let the consideration that you will not be witnesses to the sufferings which threaten your unfortunate city be your consolation.

"His Royal Highness the Prince Royal of Sweden, informed of the measures adopted at Hamburg, has issued the following orders, which are to be made public in all places occupied by the army under his command, *i. e.* throughout Holstein, and from the gates of Hamburg to the gates of old France.

"Those Hamburgers, who, in consequence of the

orders issued by Marshal Davoust on the sixteenth of December, have been compelled to leave the city of Hamburg, will be received with every attention by the allied army of the North of Germany.

"Clothing and provision will be distributed to them in proportion to their wants.

"Those among them who choose to contribute towards the liberation of the city of Hamburg from the tyranny under which it groans, will receive arms and pay as the rest of the army. They will form part of the national guard of the city of Hamburg.

"The aged, the women, and children, shall receive particular protection; their wants shall be supplied.

"The towns of Oldeslohe and Segeberg are fixed upon as rendezvous places for those Hamburgers who choose to join the standard of the troops destined to liberate Hamburg.

"The cities of Lubeck and Bremen are fixed upon for the reception of the aged, the women, and children.

"In order that the assistance may be prompt, and that the situation of the unfortunate Hamburgers be immediately ameliorated, 40,000 dollars are granted to supply their immediate wants. This first advance shall be drawn from the funds destined for the pay and supplies of the Swedish army. Within forty-eight hours, measures will be taken for the restoration of the advances issued out of the Swedish military chest.

"The execution of the order shall be intrusted to the care of a special commission. This commission shall consist of three members, viz. of an exiled citizen of Hamburg, named by the Chief of the Staff; of an inhabitant of Lubeck, and of one of the city of Bremen, appointed by the magistrates of the respective places.

"The members of the commission shall proceed to the head-quarters of his Royal Highness, there to receive instructions on the mode of management which they shall have to pursue, in order to give an account of the disposal of the 40,000 dollars, which will be handed over to the commission by the intendant general of the army.

"The commission is authorized to afford subsequent relief, after the 40,000 dollars, are exhausted.

"B. Spaare, Major-General.

"*Head-quarters, Kiel, December, 24, 1813.*"

About this period, the annexed proclamation was issued from the head-quarters of the Prince Royal of Sweden.

"Inhabitants of Holstein!—

"The allied army of the North of Germany has now entered your borders, after your government had refused to accept the repeated offers of the allies to join the general cause of Europe.

"The treaties between the allies have joined Norway to the kingdom of Sweden: compensations which ensure your political existence, were fixed for Denmark; but your government has refused every thing.

"From this present moment, Holstein will be taken in possession, as a pledge for the cession of Norway to Sweden.

"Inhabitants of Holstein!—Do not meddle in political matters. The peaceable inhabitants will be protected; the fomenters of troubles punished; the army shall observe the strictest order and discipline; a provisional government will be appointed, consisting of respectable citizens, distinguished for their talents, conduct, and probity: they will be charged with the care of the internal government of the country, and with the protection of your interests. Obey such directions as they, influenced by the circumstances of the times, shall give you."

THIRTY-SECOND BULLETIN.

Head-quarters, Kiel, December 26, 1813.

"Some armed gun vessels from Hamburg having approached Blankanese, probably with the view of capturing some boats that were there, General Woronzoff sent a detachment of troops, with one piece of cannon, to the bank of the Elbe. On this, an action took

place with the French vessels, which carried eight cannon: forty Russian light infantry were embarked in boats, in order to carry the enemy by boarding; but notwithstanding his superiority, he thought proper to make off, favoured by the wind, and was long pursued by the Russians. The commandant of the gun boats was killed."

"Major-General Boye, who commanded the troops before Gluckstadt, having ordered the regiment of Kronberg to make itself master of a piece of ground which, in advance of the fortress, was defended by a battery of heavy artillery, the garrison, at the signal of a gun fired from the fortress, made a sally. The action was very severe, and the enemy were driven back within his walls with considerable loss. The ground was maintained, and the works upon it forwarded, amidst a heavy fire of grape shot from the fortress. The regiment of Kronberg had several men killed and wounded in this affair, among whom are two officers. The batteries will be completed on the twenty-fifth.

"The King of Denmark having applied for an extension of the armistice, it has been prolonged to the sixth of January. This interval is doubtless a long one; but however injurious it may be, as far as respects the allies, they will not regret it, provided the basis of peace with Denmark is laid before its termination. Advantageous conditions have been offered to that government by Sweden: it is to be hoped, for the general good, and for the advantage of that government itself, they will be accepted. Impartial Europe will know how to appreciate as it deserves

the magnanimity of this offer, which conveys a new proof of the moderation of Sweden, and her upright wishes again to restore peace to the North. Norway was secured to her by the most sacred and solemn treaties; never had any guarantee a more majestic signature, and never did any nation rely with more confidence than Sweden upon treaties which deliver the Scandinavian peninsula from the influence and policy of Napoleon. The hopes of peace have improved the Danish paper money 100 per cent. This is the monitor of the opinion of the nation; the moment hostile operations are renewed, the paper will no longer have any value.

"In the mean time, amidst existing protestations, an Anglo-Russian and Prussian convoy has been attacked in the Sound by privateers under the Danish and French flags, and must have fallen into the hands of these pirates, had they not been protected by Swedish ships of war. This convoy was laden with valuable merchandize, and, among other things, with muskets and military clothing.

"Since the commencement of the armistice, a Russian officer, with dispatches from Franckfort for Count Wallmoden, having lost his way, came under the walls of Rundsburg. Being brought before the commandant of the fortress, his dispatches were taken from him, broke open, and read. Two of them, which were addressed to the English minister, have been kept back by the commandant.

THIRTY-THIRD BULLETIN.

Head-quarters, Kiel, Jan. 6, 1814.

"The Danish government having rejected the basis proposed to it for a pacification, hostilities have this day been recommenced in the morning.

"The blockade of Rendsburg was formed, and the advanced posts of the garrison were compelled to retire under the cannon of the place.

"A governour-general for the duchies of Holstein and Ichleswich is appointed.

"An enemy's corps of more than 10,000 men, with from twenty-five to thirty pieces of cannon, has made an attack on Breda. General Benkendorff, who defended the place, supported by a combined movement of Generals Bulow and Graham, forced the enemy to retire. That general conducted himself on this, as on all other occasions, with the courage and coolness which characterize him, and the talents by which he is distinguished.

"Colonel Narischini has undertaken an expedition on the left bank of the Rhine, and has taken prisoners the colonel of the twentieth regiment of chasseurs, an inferiour officer, and some soldiers.

"A part of the army of the General-in-chief, Count Benningsen, has relieved the corps of Lieutenant-General Count Woronzoff, before Hamburg. The occu-

pation of Ochsenwerder, which his troops have taken, very much disquiets the Prince of Eckmuhl: he has made several attempts to transport troops thither by boats, but they have been constantly driven back by the Russian sharp-shooters. The desertion from the troops which form the garrison is considerable.

"The Hanseatic legion, which has just received a month's pay, hastened to offer that sum to the unfortunate inhabitants of Hamburg, whom the Prince of Eckmuhl has expelled. This benevolent act does the more honour to these warriours, as the sum thus applied was destined to purchase for them several articles of equipment.

"The fortress of Gluckstadt capitulated yesterday evening, and was occupied this morning by the Swedish troops. The garrison are prisoners of war, and will be transported to the island of Alsen, under an engagement not to serve for a year against the allies: the number exceeds 3000 men. General Boye and all the troops under his command, during this seige, have given proofs of valour and perseverance. The ground which surrounds the fortress had been inundated, and the besiegers had to contend against rainy and unhealthy weather; finally, the approaches to the town could only be made under a very vigorous fire of grape shot and balls. Any idea which can be formed of the privations and sufferings which are undergone in besieging a place in the middle of winter, is much below what the soldiers experienced on this occasion.

"The fatigues they endured place in still higher estimation the talents of the general, and the excellent spirit with which his corps is animated. The opera-

tions of the artillery have been directed with equal skill and courage by Captain Hygrell. The Swedish and English artillery, and the detached corps of Count Woronzoff, have eminently distinguished themselves. General Baron Boye praises highly the talents and zeal of Captains Thersuen and Melander of the engineers. The English Captain Farquhar, with a flotilla under his command, took an active and honourable part in the attack of the place, and greatly contributed to its surrender.

"Gluckstadt is a place of great importance to the navigation of the Elbe. It has yielded us 325 pieces of artillery, 119 of which are brass. The assault was determined on, and nothing was waited for but the frost, in order to undertake it. Count Woronzoff had formed a battalion of 600 picked grenadiers, to serve as a reserve to the Swedish troops.

"The town of Gluckstadt was built in 1620 by Christian IV. on a very marshy site, and the establishment was the occasion of considerable jealousy on the part of the Dutch. In 1628 it was attacked by the celebrated Tilly, who, after fifteen weeks of uninterrupted operations, was obliged to raise the siege. In the expedition of Torstenson, Gluckstadt and Krempe were the only places in these duchies which the Swedish troops did not occupy.

"The allied army has taken 470 pieces of artillery since its entrance into Holstein.

"They are labouring at the demolition of the fortress of Fredericksort: the navigation of the Baltic and Belts will be more free. This fortress had been

built to injure the trade of the English with the Northern powers.

"The French commissary of war, Pregaud, sent by the Prince of Eckmuhl, succeeded in getting to the Danish advanced posts and to Copenhagen, with instructions from his government for Baron Alquier. General Lallemand himself was expected last week at the French minister's.

"Orders to sink all the pirates have been renewed to the Swedish navy. These pirates did much harm to the English, Russian, Prussian, and Swedish trade in the Baltic.

"The ports of the Cimbrian Peninsula have just been opened to the allied flags. This country, which has so much suffered by the continental system, will see its commerce flourish again, and its prosperity revive. The Norwegians, who have experienced all the miseries of want and distress, will immediately be informed that their union with Sweden will have for its first basis the same advantages that have just been restored to the inhabitants of the Cimbrian Peninsula: henceforward Norway, free and happy, will no longer be governed as a colony, and will enjoy all its political rights."

The obstinacy of Denmark occasioned a re-commencement of hostilities. In the course of three days, the whole duchy of Sleswick was consequently taken

possession of, and in all directions, by the light troops under General Tettenborn, after having, in conjunction with General Domberg, so completely invested the fortress of Rendsburg, that neither the garrison, nor even the cavalry belonging to it, could find an opportunity of making a sally, for which orders had been given, on account of the scarcity reigning in the town.

The list of conquests made by the Prince Royal's army every day increased: Holstein was conquered, Sleswick overrun, and General Baron de Tettenborn had established his head-quarters within a mile or two of Colding, the frontier town of Jutland, when, on the fourteenth of January, a treaty* of peace and of al-

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* *Substance of the Treaty of Peace and Alliance between England and Denmark.*

All conquest to be restored, except Heligoland,

Prisoners of war on both sides to be released.

Denmark to join the allies with 10,000 men, if England will give a subsidy of 400,000*l.* in the year 1814.

Stralsund still to continue a depot for English produce.

Demark to do all in her power to abolish the slave trade.

England to mediate between Denmark and the other allies.

The following is a Copy of the Treaty between Denmark and Sweden

KIEL, Jan. 14, 1814.

"In the name of the most holy and ever blessed Trinity:

"His Majesty the King of Sweden, and his Majesty the King of Denmark, impressed with a wish to put an end to the calamities of the war which has unfortunately subsisted between them, by means of a salutary peace, and to restore good understanding between their States, have for this purpose, and upon bases which will secure the duration of peace, respectively appointed the following plenipotentiaries: viz. his Majesty the King of Sweden the

liance in the war was signed by Mr. Thornton on the part of England, and by Baron de Witterstedt for Sweden; according to which, 10,000 Danes, who were at Rendsburg, were immediately united with the army of the North of Germany, under the Prince Royal, and which augmented his Royal Highness's force to 120,000.

Prussians	25,000
Russians	35,000
Swedes	20,000
Saxons	10,000
Danes	10,000
General Wallmoden's corps . . .	15,000
Lutzow, Schill and General Tetterborn's corps, and the Hanseatic legion . .	5,000
Total . .	120,000

Baron Gustaf Von Witterstedt, Court Chancellor, Commandant of the Polish order of the Star, Knight of the Prussian Red Eagle of the first class, Member of the Swedish Academy; and his Majesty the King of Denmark Mr. Edmund Von Bourke, Great Cross of the order of Dannebrog, and Knight of the White Eagle; who, having exchanged their full powers in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. 1. There shall henceforward be peace, friendship, and good understanding between his Majesty the King of Sweden and his Majesty the King of Denmark. The high contracting parties shall do every thing in their power to maintain perfect harmony between each other their respective States and subjects, and avoid all measures which might be prejudicial to the peace happily restored between them.

"Art. 2. As his Majesty the King of Sweden has unalterably determined in no respect to separate the interests of the allies from his own; and as his Majesty the King of Denmark is desirous that his subjects may again enjoy all

On the seventeenth of January, the Prince Royal issued the following bulletin, in which he emphatically observes, that the nations of the North do not look on the French as enemies, but on *him* who has done every thing to prevent their union; on *him* who, it cannot be too often repeated, has wished to enslave all nations, and to ravish from all, their country.

THIRTY-FOURTH BULLETIN.

"*Head-quarters, Kiel, Jan.* 17, 1814.

"The peace of Denmark with Sweden and England was signed on the fourteenth of January. On Sun-

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the blessings of peace; and as his Majesty has also received, through the instrumentality of his Royal Highness the Prince Royal of Sweden, positive assurances on the part of the courts of Russia and Prussia, of their amicable disposition to restore their old connexions of friendship with the Danish court, such as they existed before the breaking out of hostilities, so they solemnly charge and bind themselves on their side, to neglect nothing that may tend to a speedy peace between his Majesty the King of Denmark, and their Majesties the Emperour of Russia and King of Prussia: his Majesty the King of Sweden engages to use his mediation with his high allies, that this salutary object may be as speedily as possible attained.

"ART. 3. His Majesty the King of Denmark, for the purpose of giving a manifest proof of his wish to renew the closest relations with the high allies of his Swedish Majesty, and in the full conviction that the most earnest wishes are cherished on their side to restore a speedy peace, as they have solemnly declared before the breaking out of hostilities, engages to take an active part in the common cause against the Emperour of the French,

day, the sixteenth, there was a grand parade; a solemn *Te Deum* was chaunted by way of thanksgiving, and numerous salutes of artillery were fired. The treaty has been sent to his Majesty the King of Denmark, and the ratification is expected by Wednesday next. The whole army is putting itself in march for the Rhine. There is no longer any rivalship among the nations of the North; they have acknowledged that they have the same interests. United for the noblest object, they will combat together for the liberty of the Continent, the independence of Sovereigns and of nations. The nations of the North do not look upon

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to declare against that power, and in consequence to join an auxiliary Danish corps to the army of North Germany, under the orders of his Royal Highness the Prince Royal of Sweden; and all this according to and in pursuance of the convention that has been settled between his Majesty the King of Denmark, and his Majesty the King of Great-Britain and Ireland.

"Art. 4. His Majesty the King of Denmark, for himself and his successours, renounces for ever and irrevocably, all his rights and claims on the kingdom of Norway, together with possession of the bishopricks and dioceses of Christiansand, Bergenhuus, Aggerhuus, and Drontheim, besides Nordland and Finmark, as far as the frontiers of the Russian empire.

"These bishopricks, dioceses, and provinces, constituting the kingdom of Norway, with their inhabitants, towns, harbours, fortresses, villages, and islands, along the whole coast of that kingdom, together with their dependencies, (Greenland, the Ferroe Isles, and Iceland excepted;) as well as all privileges, rights and emoluments, thereto belonging, shall belong, in full and sovereign property, to the king of Sweden, and make one with his united kingdom. For this purpose his Majesty the King of Denmark binds himself, in the most solemn manner, as well for himself as for his successours, and the whole kingdom, henceforward, to make no claim, direct or indirect, on the kingdom of Norway, or its bishopricks, dioceses, islands, or any other territory thereto belonging. All the inhabitants, in virtue of this renunciation, are released

the French as enemies; they recognize no other enemy but him who has done every thing to prevent their union; him who, it cannot be too often repeated, has wished to enslave all nations, and to ravage from all, their country."

The King of Denmark lost no time in recalling his minister at Paris, and in preparing to give efficient aid

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from the oath which they have taken to the King and Crown of Norway.

"Art. 5. His Majesty the King of Sweden binds himself, on the other hand, in the most solemn manner, to cause the inhabitants of the kingdom of Norway, and its dependencies, to enjoy, in future, all the laws, franchises, rights, and privileges, such as they have hitherto subsisted.

"Art. 6. As the whole debt of the Danish Monarchy is contracted as well upon Norway as the other parts of the kingdom, so his Majesty the King of Sweden binds himself, as sovereign of Norway, to be responsible for a part of that debt, proportioned to the population and revenue of Norway. By public debt is to be understood that which has been contracted by the Danish government, both at home and abroad. The latter consists of Royal and State obligations, bank bills, and paper money, formerly issued under Royal authority, and now circulating in both kingdoms.

"An exact account of this debt, such as it was on the 1st of January, 1814, shall be taken by commissioners appointed to that effect by both crowns, and shall be calculated upon a just division of the population and revenues of the kingdoms of Norway and Denmark. These commissioners shall meet at Copenhagen, within one month after the exchange of the ratification of this treaty, and shall bring this affair to a conclusion as speedily as possible, and at least before the expiration of the present year; with this understanding, however, that the King of Sweden, as Sovereign of Norway, shall be responsible for no other portion of the debt contracted by Denmark, than that for which Norway was liable before its separation.

to the allied Powers. In the annexed declaration he furnishes the world with further proofs of the intrigues and deceitful promises of Napoleon Buonaparte, and the sufferings every state must undergo which attempts to support him in his ambitious projects:—

"By the care of the Danish government the war which already for fifteen years has devastated Europe, had not disturbed the repose of the Danish nation; when the King, for a moment, saw himself under the necessity of using defensive means, partly for the security of his province bordering on Ger-

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"Art. 7. His Majesty the King of Sweden, for himself and his successours, renounces, irrevocably, and forever, in behalf of the King of Denmark, all rights and claim to the dukedom of Swedish Pomerania, and the principality of the Island of Rugen.

"These provinces, with all their inhabitants, towns, havens, fortresses, villages, islands, and all their dependencies, privileges; rights, and emoluments, shall belong in full sovereignty to the Crown of Denmark, and be incorporated with that kingdom.

"For this purpose, his Majesty the King of Sweden engages, in the most solemn manner, both for himself, his successours, and the whole Swedish kingdom, never to make any claim, direct or indirect, on the said provinces, islands, and territory; the inhabitants whereof, in virtue of this renunciation, are released from the oath which they have taken to the King and Crown of Sweden.

"Art. 8. His Majesty the King of Denmark solemnly engages, in like manner, to secure to the inhabitants of Swedish Pomerania, the Islands of Rugen and their dependencies, their laws, rights, franchises, and privileges, such as they now exist, and are contained in the acts of the years 1810 and 1811.

"As the Swedish paper money has never been current in Swedish Pomerania, so his Majesty the King of Denmark engages to make no alteration in this respect, without the knowledge and consent of the States of the province.

"Art. 9. As his Majesty the King of Sweden, by the

many. The attack made by the English on his Majesty's capital, and carrying off the Danish fleet in the year 1807, put an end to the happy tranquility which his majesty had until then been enabled to preserve for his subjects. The Danish States at that time had the same common enemy with France, and the consequence was, that an alliance was sought and concluded, with that Power. The Emperour openly and directly promised men and money, and a numerous army immediately moved into the provinces of his Majesty the King. It was agreed that the expense of its

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sixth article of the treaty of alliance, entered into at Stockholm, the third of March, 1813, with his Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland, bound himself to open, for the period of twenty years, reckoning from the date of the exchange of the ratification of the treaty, the port of Stralsund, as an *entrepôt* for all colonial produce, merchandize, and manufactures brought from England and her colonies, in English or Swedish vessels, upon payment of one per cent. *ad valorem* on the goods thus introduced, and an equal duty on their removal from thence; so his Majesty the King of Denmark engages to fulfil this existing agreement, and to renew the same in his treaty with Great Britain.

"Art. 10. The public debt, which is contracted by the Royal Pomeranian Chamber, remains chargeable on the King of Denmark, as Sovereign of the Dukedom of Pomerania, who takes upon himself the stipulations agreed upon for the reduction of the said debt.

"Art. 11. The King of Denmark recognizes the donations which the King of Sweden has given on the domains and revenues in Swedish Pomerania and the Isle of Rugen, and which amount to the yearly sum of 43,000 Pomeranian rix-dollars: his Majesty also binds himself to maintain the donataries in the full and undisturbed possession of their rights and revenues, so that they may receive, sell, or make over the same, and that all may be paid them without any hindrance, and without duties and expenses under whatsoever name.

"Art. 12. Their Majesties the King of Sweden and the

support should be defrayed by the French government, and this amounted to a sum of several millions of rix-dollars. Without undertaking any thing, however, this army remained a burthen longer than the Danish government thought requisite. The expense of its support remained unpaid, and the requests of Denmark on this point were equally fruitless as those concerning the announced requisitions in money. The situation of the State, whose resources were already diminished by the naval war, and by these novel disbursements, became totally exhausted; and again suffered a most prejudicial influence from the shut-

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King of Denmark mutually engage never to divert from their original destination, monies appropriated to objects of beneficence or public utility, in the countries thus reciprocally obtained by the present treaty, namely, the kingdom of Norway and the dukedom of Swedish Pomerania, with their respective dependencies.

"The King of Sweden, in pursuance of this mutual agreement, engages to support the Universities of Norway, and the King of Denmark that of Greiswald.

"The payment of all public offices, both in Norway and Pomerania, is to remain a charge upon the acquiring power, reckoning from the day of taking possession.

"Pensioners are to receive the pensions assigned to them by the preceding government, without interruption or change.

"ART. 13. As the King of Sweden, so far as is practicable, and as depends upon him, wishes that the King of Denmark may receive compensation for the renunciation of the kingdom of Norway, of which his Majesty has given satisfactory proof in the cession of Swedish Pomerania and the Isle of Rugen, so his Majesty will use all his endeavours with the allied powers to secure in addition to a general peace, a full equivalent to Denmark for the cession of Norway.

"ART. 14. Immediately upon the signing of the present treaty, an account of the same shall be sent, with all possible speed, to the generals and armies, in order that hostilities may wholly cease on both sides, both by sea and land.

ting of the continental ports, which was represented as one of the means for obtaining a general peace. The annexation of the Hanse Towns, and the contiguous provinces to the French empire, became afterwards a most heavy burthen, with regard to the commercial intercourse with Germany. Its effects extended even to literary connexions. Earnest professions, which were frequently renewed, had given hopes that these obstacles, which were so directly contrary to the good understanding which his majesty did all in his power to remain in with the French government, would have been removed; but these hopes always remained unfulfilled. Whilst the French army was retreating in the winter between 1812 and 1813, the im-

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"Art. 15. The high contracting parties engage, that immediately after the signing of the present treaty, all contributions and requisitions, of whatever kind and denomination, shall immediately cease, so as that even those which shall have been already ordered shall not be enforced. It is likewise agreed, that all property which has been sequestrated by the army of North Germany shall be restored to the owners. Herefrom are excepted, such ships and ship-ladings as belonged to subjects of the King of Sweden and his allies, and have been brought into the harbours of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein; these shall remain with their present owners, who shall dispose of them as they think fit.

"(This article then arranges the mode in which the places in Holstein and Schleswig, possessed by the allied troops, are to be evacuated by them.)

"Immediately on the signing of the present treaty the Swedish troops shall enter Norway, and take possession of all the strong places there, his Majesty the King of Denmark binds himself to give the necessary orders to that effect.

"The Swedish troops shall deliver up Swedish Pomerania, and the Isle of Rugen, to the troops of the King of Denmark, as soon as the fortresses of Frederickshall, Konigswinger, Frederickstadt, and Aggerhuus have been taken possession of by the Swedish troops."

perial troops, which, according to a particular agreement, were to have remained for the protection of the frontiers of Holstein, were drawn away. As the French government had at the same time declared its intention of entering into negotiations for peace with all her enemies, the King deemed it important for him to make overtures of peace to Great Britain.—The alliance of France was now become of no utility. The King would willingly have prevented the cities of Hamburg and Lubeck from again falling into the hands of the French, in order to keep the war from his own frontiers, and save from destruction those cities whose interests stood in such direct connexion with those of his subjects; but his majesty was obliged to desist from the prosecution of this plan. His interests, therefore, required, that he should accept the offer made him, of renewing the alliance with France; and to give it a longer extension, in order to assure him of a powerful assistance against those Sovereigns, who had not hesitated to declare, that they would support the demands of Sweden, which were inimical to the integrity of the States.

"The King, on his part, conscientiously performed the stipulations of the treaty. Whilst his auxiliary troops were fighting by the side of the French, they received only a part of the pay which, according to the agreement, was their due; and his Majesty's subjects suffered a considerable loss, as well by the embargo laid on their property, which was deposited in the cities of Lubeck and Hamburg, of which the French government took to itself the privilege of disposal, as by taking away the funds of the bank in the last mentioned city. The promises of restoration given, in consequence of the complaint thereon made, remained

equally with the reclamations made on the subject, without effect.

"It was assured by the treaty, that 20,000 men should be in readiness to protect the Duchies and Jutland; but Marshal d'Eckmuhl quitted the position which covered those provinces, and retreated with all the troops under his command to Hamburg, leaving the King's troops to their fate, and who were not able to withstand the superiour force which was moving forward to effect an entrance into the country. The enemy's irruption into the Duchies, together with the loss of the fortresses, was followed by the King's being forsaken by an ally, on whose assistance he had reasonable grounds for placing a reliance.

"His Majesty has been under the necessity of consenting to the greatest sacrifices, to protect the remaining part of his States from invasion, with which they were threatened by the combined troops of several Powers, and for the purpose of again recovering possession of those provinces which had fallen into the enemy's power.

"He recalled his minister at the court of the French Emperour, and declared to the minister of his Imperial Majesty, residing at his court, that he could no longer consider him as being in that capacity, and that opportunity should be given him for his return to France.

"His Majesty likewise declares, that he will join the Sovereigns, united against France, in order to assist in bringing about a general peace, for which all the

nations of Europe are languishing, and which is so necessary for the Danish States.

"Middlefast, the 17th January, 1814."

By the peace with Denmark the Prince Royal was enabled to direct his victorious steps to the Rhine, and give the support of his auxiliary troops to the grand undertakings of the allies, who were at this period in the centre of France.

Accordingly General Benningsen was left with 30,000 men to form the siege of Hamburg, and 5000 of the Russian German Legion to blockade Harburg, whilst the remainder moved forward to the principal scene of action.

At nine o'clock on the fourth February, the Prince Royal arrived at Hanover, where an interview took place betwen his Royal Highness and the Duke of Cambridge.

On the tenth, the Prince Royal, in person, crossed the Rhine, with the intention of uniting the whole of his army upon a line between Soissons and Rheims.

On the twelfth, his Royal Highness issued the annexed bulletin from Cologne.

THIRTY-FIFTH BULLETIN.

"Head-quarters, Cologne, Feb. 1, 1814.

"The Prince Royal set out from Buckeburg on the ninth, to proceed by Lipstadt and Charfeldt to Cologne, where his Royal Highness arrived on the tenth at night. He passed the Rhine amidst the sound of cannon, and both banks resounded with the acclamations of the inhabitants. The whole population of Cologne went out to meet him at the river side; and never was the enthusiasm of a people, delivered from an oppressive yoke, expressed with more unanimity and ardour. The city was illuminated at night. Yesterday there was a grand ball, which his Royal Highness honoured with his presence.

"As the combined army of the North of Germany is about to commence a more active campaign in these countries, it is necessary to state the march of the different corps that compose it, and the ulteriour prospects of the Prince Royal.

"The corps of General Bulow, forming the right of the army, is in the environs of Brumts, and has pushed its advanced posts in the direction of Mons.

"General Winzingerode, whose head-quarters are at Namur, forms the centre. He has already got possession of the towns of Mons, Avesnes, and Rheims, of which he has sent the keys to the Prince Royal, who will transmit them to the Emperour Alexander.

"The corps of Count Woronzoff, which has passed the Rhine here, takes also the direction of Namur to come in contact with that of Winzingerode. General Strogonoff is about to follow it.

"The advanced guard of the Swedish army will be on the twenty-first upon the Rhine, so that the whole army will have passed the river before the end of the month.

"The Danish troops take the route of Dusseldorff, passing by Bremen and Munster, and will proceed from thence further on the line of operations. The intention of his Royal Highness is to unite the whole army under his orders upon a line between Soissons and Rheims, and then to act according to circumstances.

"On the twelfth of February the Prince Royal made the following address to the French people; in which he strongly points out the severe miseries of their past situation:—

"'*To the French People.*

"'Frenchmen!—At the command of my King I have taken up arms, for the purpose of defending the rights of the Swedish people. After having revenged the insults which they had suffered, and assisted in effecting the liberation of Germany, I have passed the Rhine.

"'At the moment when I again see this river, on the borders of which I have so often, and so success-

fully fought for you, I feel the necessity of again apprizing you of my sentiments.

" 'The government under which you live has continually had in view to treat you with contempt, in order that it might debase you; it is high time that this state of things undergo an alteration.

" 'All enlightened people express their wishes for the welfare of France; but they at the same time wish that she may no longer be the scourge of the earth.

" 'The allied monarchs have not united themselves to make war upon the people, but to force your government to acknowledge the independence of other States: this is their sole motive and aim, and I will pledge myself for the integrity of their sentiments.

" 'Adopted son of Charles XIII. and placed, by the choice of a free people, at the foot of the throne of the Gustavuses, I can henceforward be animated with no other ambition, than that of securing the happiness of the Scandinavian Peninsula; and at the same time, my principal happiness will consist (after having fulfilled this sacred duty to my adopted country) in securing the future happiness of my former countrymen.

" 'Given at my head-quarters at Cologne, this twelfth of February, 1814.

(Signed) " 'CHARLES JOHN.' "

Shortly after the publication of this document, the Prince Royal removed his head-quarters to Liege, where his Royal Highness remained with the Swedish army whilst the rest of the allies, aided by the Rus-

sian troops that had been attached to the army of the North of Germany, vigorously pursued their successes into the heart of France, and finally, by their united exertions, reached Paris; destroyed the dynasty of Napoleon, and restored the throne of France to its lawful heir.

It is in this place that I must come to a conclusion of the military career of the Prince Royal. Many have reproved the conduct of his Royal Highness for remaining at Liege; but a short time will be sufficient to shew to the world the policy by which his Royal Highness was actuated, and enable them to form a temperate and unbiassed opinion thereon.

I CANNOT close this work without offering a few remarks on the private character and disposition of the Prince Royal, although of minor import than those strong and peculiar features that mark his public career.

The domestic virtues of his Royal Highness, his temperate and modest demeanour, his frugal and primitive habits, his retired yet dignified manners, have rendered him very generally beloved throughout Sweden; and it is to the possession of such amiable qualities, combined with his military fame as a General, that his elevation to the rank he now holds is principally to be attributed.

There is in the mind of the Prince Royal of Sweden a peculiar and characteristic urbanity, blended with a strong desire for the enjoyment and not the abuse of the blessings of this world; and it may justly be observed, that his greatest happiness is to diffuse with an unsparing hand to his family and to his future subjects every good a bountiful Providence has so fully enabled him to bestow. He is not one of those favourites of fortune, who consider the mass of mankind as formed for no other use than to become the instruments of their aggrandizement, the slaves by whom their commands are to be obeyed, or as machines their mandates can put in motion or stop at pleasure. Even from the foot of the throne his Royal Highness distinguishes every rank and degree of his adopted countrymen; he invites and encourages them to the attainment of that individual happiness and

national prosperity, which is equally the result of a good and powerful government.

There is not in the whole catalogue of earthly blessings, or of Heaven's gift, one which so truly gilds the life of man, and brightens even the darkest of the days of adversity, as a good and even temper. It is a constant support and comfort in a state of persecution: when the passions are agitated by disappointment, it is the friend and monitor who whispers peace and patience to the perturbed spirit; it is a companion in solitude, and an altar of eternal happiness, on which the virtues delight to cherish a flame that can be extinguished but with life itself. The man whose temper and disposition is such, must also be religious, because the divine emanation of his Creator which glows within his bosom, draws him instinctively and frequently to the contemplation of that power who has given him equanimity. A beneficent disposition is also of much importance to the prosperity of an individual; the whole exteriour is illumined by its brightness, and in the mind all is peace, harmony, and self-satisfaction. The man looks around him in the world, he feels as if among his brethren, and the glowing goodness which warms his bosom expands to all his fellow beings: he wins the good-will of those who approach him, and irresistibly attracts to himself their affection and support. It is to this equanimity, benevolence, and urbanity, that the Prince Royal of Sweden owes much of that popularity he possesses.

The Prince Royal has had many strong prejudices to combat; but they are happily overthrown by his fervent perseverance in the ways of probity and truth. As a soldier, it was impossible even for the enemies of

his country, and those who fought against him, not to allow him a high and distinguished name: but as a republican he was reprobated, and as a friend and coadjutor of Buonaparte, he was by many for a time distrusted. A short period has happily overthrown these delusive ideas, founded in errour, to the glory of the Prince Royal, and the confusion of his enemies, and his Royal Highness has, by his uncommon virtues, placed himself in that exalted sphere, where now all observe him with confidence and admiration, with anxiety and hope.

As a friend and patron of the *belle lettres*, the Prince Royal is not less distinguished; and the compositions that have fallen from his pen evince a thorough knowledge of the various branches of literature necessary to form an enlightened and accomplished prince.

The plan traced out in the following letter, and with which I shall conclude this work, for the instruction of the future hope of Sweden, is the best proof of those excellent qualities of the heart and head, which in the Prince Royal of Sweden blend and flourish in the most perfect unity. The matrimonial engagement of his Royal Highness was founded upon the purest principles of disinterested attachment, of mutual esteem, and a desire to bestow happiness: his conduct as a husband has been regulated by a just attention to all those moral obligations, which are binding only to a man of honour and a good Christian; and the consort of his Royal Highness is, from her benevolence, excellent dispositions, and exalted virtues, worthy of the illustrious Prince to whom she is united.

Letter from his Royal Highness the Prince Royal of Sweden, to M. le Baron de Cederhielm.*

"*Stockholm October* 29, 1812.

"M. le Baron de Cederhielm,

"I have requested the King to appoint you governour of my son, Prince Oscar, and his Majesty has been graciously pleased to attend to my request: your merit has determined his choice.

"You are about to form the character of my son, and develope his mind: his excellent qualities will second your efforts. In attaching yourself to him, inculcate the manners and customs of the country; in short, the national character. My desire is, that his education should be entirely Swedish; and the nation

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* The following is an authentic copy of the original letter of his Royal Highness, and was communicated to Mr. Philippart, by his Excellency the Baron de Rahausen, Swedish ambassadour at this court:

"*Stockholm, le* 29 *Octobre*, 1812.

"M. le Boron de Cederhielm,

"J'ai prié le roi de vous nommer gouverneur du Prince Oscar mon fils, et Sa Majesté a bien voulu m'accorder ma demande; votre mérite a déterminé son choix.

"Vous allez former le cœur de mon fils et développer son esprit; ses heureuses dispositions vous seconderont: en vous attachant, á lui inculquer les mœurs et les habitudes du pays, en un mot, le charactere national, vous aurez satisfait mon desir que son éducation soit entierement Suédoise, et la nation vous devra tout le bien qui résultera des soins que vous vous serez donnés.

"Je desire que vous portiez toute votre attention á lui

will be indebted to you for all the benefits that shall result from your labours.

"I desire that you exert yourself to instil in him a habit of diligence, and that he should profit by the lessons given for his instruction.

"You will fortify in his mind the sentiments of religion, morality, a love for the laws and his country.

"You will impress on his memory the examples that the government of good kings furnish; and you will excite in his soul that ambition for true glory, which should always have for its object the desire of being useful to its fellow-creatures, and to contribute to their happiness.

"My son is of an age when impressions are receiv-

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faire contracter l'habitude du travail, et á ce qu'il profite des lecons qui lui seront données pour son instruction.

"Vous fortifierez dans son cœur les sentimens de religion, de morale, d'amour des lois et de la patrie.

"Vous nourrirez sa pensée des exemple que fournissent les regnes des bons rois, et vous exciterez dans son âme cette ambition, de la vraie gloire, qui doit tonjours avoir pour object le desir d'être util á ses semblables, et de contribuer á leur bonheur.

"Mon fils est dans un âge où on reçoit des impressions que l'on conserve toute la vie, ainsi vous devrez éviter qu'il se forme de fausses idées sur ce que l'on appelle caractere; lafermeté qui doit être la base de celui d'un Prince, ne peut jamais être regardée comme une vertu qu'autant qu'elle est employée à propos.

"Il vous sera facile de lui faire concevoir que son devoir doit toujours être d'accord avec son cœur, lorsqu'il s'agira de venir au secours des malheureux; et que ses bienfaits doivent porter l'empreinte de la magnanimité, et jamais celle de l'ostentation ou de la prodigalité.

"La classe indigente doit exciter la sollicitude d'un prince: je desire que mon fils se penetre de cette vérite.

"Un prince ne doit jamais être accessible ni à la crainte,

ed, that are preserved through life; therefore, you should endeavour to prevent his forming false ideas upon what is termed character: firmness, which ought to be the basis of that of a prince, can never be regarded as a virtue, but when directed to a good purpose.

"It will be easy for you to make him conceive, that his duty ought always to accord with his heart, when he shall be desirous of succouring the unfortunate; and that his benefactions should carry with them the appearance of magnanimity, and never that of ostentation or prodigality.

"The indigent poor ought to excite the solicitude of a prince; I am desirous that my son should be convinced of this truth.

"A prince ought neither to be accessible to fear, or

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ni aux soupçons. Il ne doit pas hésiter d'exposer sa propre vie pour assurer la gloire et le bien-être de son pays. Il doit juger sans passion et avec le calme imposant qui dintingue les bons souverains. Attachez-vous, M. le Baron, à bien graver ces principes dans le cœur de mon fils. Je vous le remets à une êvoque où il a la force de recevoir, pour les conserver, toutes les notions qui peuvent concourir au bonheur des Suédois. Rèpétez-lui sans cesse, qu'un des plus grands fléaux dont le ciel puisse accabler une nation, c'est de lui donner un prince faible; que le renversement des états, la guerre civile et l'esclavage des peuples sont ordinairement la suite funeste de la timidité des souverains; que la guerre est de tous les maux le plus terrible qui puisse peser sur un état, mais qu'il est des circonstances où elle est un remede salutaire pour redonner à une nation son énergie, lui faire reprendre son ancien caractere, et la préserver du malheur de perdre son nom pour devenir province d'un autre empire; que lorsqu'un royaume est ainsi menacé, et qu'on ne peut pas éviter la honte sans en appeler au sort des ames, le prince n'est plus le praître du

suspicious; he ought not to hesitate exposing his life for the glory and prosperity of his country; he ought to judge without passion, and with that impartiality that distinguishes good Sovereigns. Exert yourself, M. le Baron, to implant these principles in the heart of my son. I place him under you at a time when he has the strength to receive and preserve all ideas that may contribute to the benefit of the Swedes. Incessantly repeat to him, that one of the greatest evils with which heaven can afflict a nation, is to give to it a weak prince; that the overthrow of States, civil war, and the slavery of the people, are generally the fatal results of the timidity of Sovereigns; that war is of all evils the most terrible that can afflict a State, but that there are circumstances where a salutary remedy exists for restoring to a nation its energy, for giving to it its ancient character, and to preserve it from the misfortune of losing its name, in becoming a province

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choix; il doit tout oser et tout entreprendre pour maintènir l'indépendance de son pays; que c'est alors que l'énergie de son âme doit se développer et qu'il doit s'entourer d'hommes de probité et courageux, quels que soient du reste leurs principes politiques; son grand but étant de sauver la patrie, le vrai moyen d'y parvenir c'est de marcher réunis contre celui qui veut l'opprimer.

"Vous habituerez mon fils à ne pas donner sa confiance à des indiscrets ou à des dissipateurs: les uns la trahissent par amour propre, et les autres par vénalité.

"La religion, l'histoire, la géographie, la statistique, les mathématiques, l'écriture, le dessein et les exercices du corps seront la base de l'instruction de mon fils pendant deux ans, après lesquels je prierai le roi de erméttre qu'il soit suiviune autre méthode.

"L'étude de la religion conduit à celle d'une morale douce et bienfaisante, vous en remplirez l'âme de mon fils:

"Il doit connoître l'histoire de tous les peuples, mais dans cette étude, vous devez lui faire principalement distinguer celle de leur gouvernement, de leurs lois, et de

of another empire; that when a kingdom is thus threatened, and that disgrace cannot be avoided without an appeal to arms, the prince is no longer at liberty to choose; he ought to dare and to undertake every thing to maintain the independence of his country; that then is the time when the energy of his soul should be developed, and when he should be surrounded by men of courage and probity: his principal aim being to save his country, the true means of effecting it is to march against him who would oppress it.

"You will habituate my son not to bestow his confidence on indiscreet or dissipated persons: the former would betray it through self-love, and the latter through venality.

"Religion, history, geography, statistics, mathematics, penmanship, drawing, and bodily exercises should be the basis of my son's instruction for two

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l'influence qu'elles ont eue sur leurs mœurs et sur la bonheur public. L'art de la guerre doit plus essentiellement fixer l'attention de mon fils et vos soins. Un prince, de nos jours, doit être général: on a vu le terrible inconvénient d'opposer un général responsable envers son maître, à un chef qui décidait de tout par lui même; il faut donc accoutumer mon fils, de bonne heure, à braver les saisons, et à tirer le plus grand parti de ses forces, afin qu'une vie trop sédentaire n'influe pas à l'avenir sur sa maniere de voir et d'agir. Des voyages sur les montagnes, dans les mines, la natation et l'équitation sont des exercises qui développent l'énergie de l'âme, en rappelant la guerre et en réveillant l'idée du péril qui doit tonjours être présente pour devenir familiere. L'étude de la géographie sera constamment suivie de la statistique, et principalement celle de la Suede. Mon fils doit connaître celleci dans les plus petits détails, pour avoir une idée juste des ressources du royaume, afin qu'il ne se livre pas à des illusions dangereuses pour le peuple et pour lui. Je désire que cette partie de son instruction ne se borne pas à lui en ap-

years; after which, I shall request the King to permit him to pursue a different method.

"You will instil into the mind of my son a love for religion, which produces a mild and beneficent disposition.

"He ought to be well acquainted with the history of every nation, but in that study, you should cause him to attend principally to their governments, their laws, and the influence they have had upon the manners, and upon the welfare of the people. To the art of war, the attention of my son and your exertions should be particularly directed. A prince, in these days, should be a general: we have seen the great inconvenience of a general responsible to his master, being opposed to a chief who decides every thing for himself; it is, therefore, essential that my son should be early instructed to brave the seasons, and to exercise his powers, in order that a too sedentary life may not hereafter affect

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prendre les chiffres; comme il faut qu'il la connaisse parfaitement, elle se gravera dans sa mémoire par des voyages et par des entretiens avec les hommes les plus instruits de chaque état: dans les provinces, des paysans et des cultivateurs éclairés du canton qu'il visitera, lui donneront des notions sur la fertilité de leur sol, sur la nature de ses productions, sur le prix dés denrées, sur les impôts dont leurs terres sont grevées, etc. etc. Dans les villes, les gouverneurs lui feront connaître l'administration générale de leurs provinces, et des juris-consultes habiles y formeront sa société pendant son sejour: leur conversation servira à lui donner une idée de la jurisprudence et des lois de la Suede, en attendant que son âge lui permette de se livrer à l'étude du droit.

"Il faudra profiter de la curiosité que ces premieres connaisances exciteront dans l'esprit de mon fils, pour le conduire dans tous les lieux où il y aura quelque chose à apprendre vous ferez de ces courses un motif pour lui faire lire, avant et après, ce qui pourrait y avoir rapport Lorsqu'il visitera des vaisseaux, il faut qu'il connaiss.

either his sight or strength. Journeys upon the mountains, in the mines, swimming, and equitation, are exercises which expand the energies of the soul: they revive warlike ideas, and present to the imagination, perils that ought always to be present, in order to become familiar. The study of geography should constantly be followed by that of statistics, and principally those of Sweden. In this respect my son ought to be minutely informed, in order that he may have a correct idea of the resources of the kingdom, and not be exposed to allusions, dangerous to the nation and himself. I am desirous that this branch of his education should not be confined to theory, as it is important that he should be thoroughly master of it: it should be impressed on his memory by travels, and by conversation with the best informed men of each State: in the provinces, the enlightened peasants and husbandmen of the cantons that he may visit, will furnish him ideas of the fertility of their soil, the nature of its productions, the price of provisions, the imposts

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les battailles navales les plus eélebres, et qu'un marin des plus instruits l'accompagne pour lui expliquer, en les lui faisant voir, les manœuvres qui déciderent du sort des combats. Quand il inspectera une forteresse, il doit être accompagné d'un ingénieur qui puisse lui détailler, sur le terrein, la science de la fortification et celle de l'attaque et de la défense des places. Il puisera dans Smith les connaissances nécessaires dans les finances et les manufactures. Les ouvrages de Winkelman lui donneront une idée juste des beaux-arts, et il s'instruira dans la belle littérature en lisant les auteurs les plus célebres dans ce genre

La grande difficulté de léducation, c'est de diriger la volonté de l'éleve; il importe donc de donner à mon fils des livres d'histoire qu'il ait du plaisir à lire, et qu'il lise seul; il faut qu'il rende compte de sa lecture en parlant plutôt qu'en écrivant; car la faculté de la parole est une chose plus nécessaire à un Prince de Suede qu'à tout autre; ainsi je pense que pour lui faciliter l'art de par-

with which their lands are taxed, &c. &c. In the towns, the governours will instruct him in the general administration of their provinces, and learned civilians will constitute his society during his sojourn: their conversations will serve to give him an idea of the jurisprudence and laws of Sweden, previous to his age permitting him to devote himself to the study of law.

"You must take advantage of the curiosity that these first instructions will excite in the mind of my son, to conduct him to every place where there may be aught to learn. You will, by these means, have a motive for his reading before and after whatever may relate to the affairs he beholds. When he visits vessels, he should be informed of the most celebrated naval engagements, and an expert mariner should accompany him to explain and shew the manœuvres that decide the fate of battles. When he inspects a fortress, he ought to be accompanied by a skilful engineer, who can explain to

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ler, vous devez inviter chez mon fils une ou deux fois par semaine, de sept jusqu'à neuf heures du soir, des personnes dont vous aurez fait choix, et dont le mérite vous sera connu.

"Je désire que mon fils consacre quelques moments à la littérature étrangere; il y appendra à bien distinguer ce qui caractérise les autres nations, et à entretenir les étrangers sur des sujets qui partent du cercle des questions d'un Prince.

"Il me reste maintenant à fixer les heures de travail de mon fils, et ses habitudes intérieures. Il se levera à sept heures et demie pour commencer ses études à huit, et les continueur jusqu'à onze.

"A onze heures, il déjeunera avec son instituer et ses cavaliers de service à onze heures et demie recréation jusqu'à une heure aprés-midi.

"Le Dimanche seulement, il sera admis au déjeuner de mon fils deux personnes de votre choix.

"Depuis une heure jusqu'à cinq heures du soir, il continuera ses études; à cinq heures et demie il se rendra

him, upon the spot, the science of fortification, and that of the attack and defence of places. He will acquire in Smith the necessary knowledge of financies and manufactures. The Works of Winkelman will give him a just idea of the fine arts, and he will instruct himself in the *belles lettres* by reading the most celebrated authors.

"The principal difficulty of education is, to direct the will of the pupil: it remains then to give to my son, books of history which he may have a pleasure in reading, and which he will read alone: he must give a verbal account of his readings in preference to a written one; for facility of speech is a qualification more necessary in a Prince of Sweden than any other, therefore I conceive that for the purpose of advancing his elocution, you should invite to my son, once or twice a week, persons of whom you shall make choice, and of whose merit you shall be acquainted.

"I wish my son to devote some time to foreign lite-

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chez moi pour y dîner les Dimanches, Mardis et Jeudis (les autres jours il mangera chez lui.) C'est dans les salons et à table que, peu à peu, on apprend à connaître les hommes et á pénétrer leur caractere. L'habitude du monde donne de l'aisance et de la grâce, et prévient cette timidité si ordinaire aux enfants élevés dans l'isolement et dans la retraite, et si dangereuse pour un Prince qu'elle exposerait à devenir dupe de la hardiesse d'un ton décidé et tranchant. En dinant chez moi, mon fils y trouvera réunis les premiers hommes de la Suéde, il y entendra parler le magistrat, le guerrier instruit; le politique profound, et l'administrateur laborieux; ainsi cette société concourra encore à son instruction sans qu'il éprouve les contrariétés de l'étude.

"Depuis sept heures jusqu'à neuf du soir, mon fils employera alternativement ce temps, soit à faire sa cour à LL. MM. soit au théâtre ou à quelque assemblée de bal,

rature; he will therefrom learn to perfectly distinguish that which characterises other nations, and to discourse with foreigners upon matters that may be out of the line of the questions of a Prince.

"It remains for me to fix the hours of study for my son, and his interiour habits. He shall rise at half-past seven, to commence his lessons at eight, and continue them until ten.

"At eleven o'clock, he shall breakfast with his instructor and the gentlemen of his household; at half-past eleven recreation, until one o'clock.

"Two persons, chosen by you, shall be admitted to breakfast with my son, on Sundays only.

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soit enfin dans les sociétés qu'il doit recevoir une ou deux fois par semaine et dont je vous ai parlé plus haut.

"A dix heures, il devra toujours être couché.

"Ainsi mon fils travaillera sept heures par jour, ce temps me paraît suffisant pour son âge. Il vous reste, Monsieur le Baron, á dèterminer la nature des études qui devront occuper chaque heure en vous conformant à tout ce que je désire qui forme l'instruction de mon fils.

"Un des points dont j'aurais dû vous entretenir en premier analise, c'est le tendre respect que mon fils doit toujours porter au Roi. Il ne doit vouloir dans aucune circonstances que ce que Sa Majesté, voudra elle-même; toutes ses actions doivent avoir pour but d'embellir la viellesse de Sa Majesté et il doit constamment avoir présent à sa mémoire, qu'aucun repentir ne pourrait jamais compenser la plus légere inquiétude qu'il lui causerait.

"Je saisis avec plaisir cette occasion, Monsieur le Baron de Cederhielm, pour vous renouveler l'assurance des sentiments que vous m'avez inspirés depuis que je vous ai connu, et je prie Dieu qu'il vous ait en sa sainte et digne garde at qu'il bénisse vos travaux.

"Je suis votre bien affectionné,

"Charles Jean."

"From one o'clock until five in the evening he shall continue his studies. At half-past five he shall repair to me, and dine at my table, on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, (the other days he shall dine at home.) It is in drawing rooms and at table that, by degrees, we learn to know men and penetrate their characters. The habits of company give ease and grace, and prevent that timidity so common in children privately educated, and so dangerous in a Prince, as it exposes him to be duped by the boldness of a decisive manner. In dining with me, my son will find assembled the principal men of Sweden; he will hear speak the magistrate, the skilful warriour, the profound statesman, and the indefatigable administrator; thus that society will contribute further to his instruction, without his experiencing the difficulties of study.

"From seven until nine in the evening, my son will alternately employ his time either in paying his respects to LL. MM. or at the theatre, or at some assembly, or amongst the persons whom he has to receive once or twice a week, and of whom I have already spoken to you.

"At ten o'clock he ought always to be in bed.

"Thus my son will study seven hours each day: this time appears to me sufficient for his age. It remains for you, M. le Baron, to determine the nature of the studies which should occupy each hour, in conformity to what I have desired, as constituting his instruction.

"One of the points of which I should have first spoken, is, the affectionate respect that my son ought always to have for the King. He ought never to

wish, under any circumstances, aught but what his Majesty desires: all his actions should have for their end the comfort of the declining years of his Majesty, and he should constantly remember that no repentance can compensate for the slightest inquietude he may occasion him.

"I seize with pleasure this opportunity, M. Le Baron de Cederheilm, to renew the assurance of the sentiments you have inspired me with, since I first became acquainted with you, and I pray God that he will have you in his holy and worthy keeping, and that he will bless your labours.

"I am your very affectionate

"CHARLES JOHN."

FINIS.

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